CHAPTER XXX

INDIAN STATES

I. THE INDIAN STATES AND BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY

Reference has been made above to the series of treaties concluded by the Marquess of Hastings with the Rajput and Maratha States. These, together with similar treaties of earlier and later dates, defined the legal status of the Indian States, vis-à-vis the East India Company. But though, as noted above, the British Governor-General in Council claimed paramountcy over all the Indian States, and in practice exercised it, whenever they chose, almost without any check or limit, it is not supported by the legal right accruing from the treaties themselves, and there was no other source from which any such right could accrue. According to explicit terms of the treaties, all the States surrendered the control of their relations with foreign powers; but in the case of the larger states, it was expressly stipulated that their rulers should be absolute within their own territories. Some of the States like Hyderabad and Awadh originally entered into treaty relations with the British on equal terms, and as fully independent States; and this status was never openly abrogated by any subsequent treaty. Even a State like Baroda, in whose internal affairs the British had rights of interference, was recognized by them in the treaty of 1817 as possessing ‘sovereignty’, and the Gaekwar was referred to in 1841 as the “sole sovereign” of his territories. It may therefore be presumed or at least argued that, barring an Indian State conquered or created by the British and definitely relegated by a treaty to a feudatory status, the Indian States, in general, possessed sovereign powers. But whatever may be the theoretical position, in practice the British treated them all as feudatory or subordinate States and did not accord to any Indian State, not excluding even Hyderabad, the same political status or rank which diplomatic usage guaranteed to the smallest State in Europe such as Belgium or Holland. The British were in a position to do this because through the instrumentality of the subsidiary force they were in possession of the most effective part of the army of every Indian State, which had no power to resist them even if it had any wish to do so. There is thus no doubt that the acceptance of a subsidiary force nullified in practice whatever sovereignty an Indian State might have possessed in theory. It is debatable, however, whether by agree-
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...ing to maintain a subsidiary force, a State merely limits its sovereignty or loses it altogether even in theory. The British rulers in the nineteenth century took the latter view, presumably on the ground that it is the practical status that determines the theoretical one, and not vice versa. From the position of a paramount power de facto, the British imperceptibly assumed the status of a paramount power de jure. In other words, while the British paramounty before the outbreak of 1857 is an undeniable fact, its legal basis is not so clear, and it was not formally enunciated by British administrators as a general principle applicable to India as a whole.

The British standpoint has been generally upheld by the British historians. They argue that the general duty undertaken by the British to protect the Indian States, which was implicit in all their treaties, naturally involved the right to interfere in cases of financial disorder, actual or potential rebellion, or in similar contingencies. This is at least a plausible argument. It is, however, not so clear that similar defence may be put forward in favour of many claims and practices which gradually developed. To insist that no succession is valid in an Indian State without the previous sanction of the British; to coerce an Indian ruler to maintain a particular minister against his will and interest, or to send troops to a State on the actual outbreak or mere possibility of disorders such as frequently occurred even within the British dominions, and to use these opportunities to wring more concessions from the helpless rulers;—these are some of the instances which can only be explained, not by rights or obligations of a Protecting State, but the aggressive designs of an Imperial Power. Some cases of interference in Indian States may, no doubt, be justified by the former, but there are many which must be attributed to the latter.

The power and status of the Native States varied to a considerable extent. As Ramsay Macdonald has observed: “The degree to which the native sovereignty extends has been determined by no general principle, but by historical accident, the size and the importance of the States themselves, the terms of the treaties made between the imperial Government and the Native rulers, other agreements and usages. The Nizam of Hyderabad exercised the maximum of power. He issued his own coinage, had a free hand as to taxation, and had absolute powers of life and death. Some of the rulers of smaller States had little more than minor judicial powers and immunity from British taxation”.2

II. THE INDIAN STATES UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN.

The outbreak of 1857-58 forms the Great Divide in British Indian history, especially in the relation of British India to the States. The
circumstances which led to it were closely and intimately connected with the policy which the East India Company had so far pursued in regard to the States. The strength of the rebellion came mainly from the policy of annexation of States, and the high-handed manner in which it was sometimes carried out, e.g. in cases of Awadh, Nagpur and Jhansi, provided, among other things, the popular appeal for what was originally a military revolt. It was the doubtful attitude of the forces of some Indian States that helped the spread of the rebellion and enabled Tantia Topi to make his rapid movements. Equally, it was the staunch attitude of Jayaji Rao Sindhia of Gwalior, Hyderabad under Salar Jang, and of the Phulkian States, that turned the tide. Post-Mutiny policy was, as a result, dominated by this fact. The British authorities learnt two essential lessons from the catastrophe that overtook them in 1857. The first was that it was not wise to ride rough-shod over the popular sentiments behind the States of India, however backward they might appear from a modern standpoint; and secondly, that, in view of their unsuspected strength, it was necessary to take political, military and other precautions, meant to prevent the States from uniting with each other and forming a formidable combination in future. It was essentially a dual policy of conciliation and friendship on the one hand, and a process of gradual weakening on the other.

The first step in the process of conciliation was the historic Proclamation of Queen Victoria, which assured the Princes that the Crown had taken over their treaties, and had no desire to extend its territorial possessions, and that the dignities, privileges, and authorities of the princes and States would be maintained undiminished. It was, in effect, a repudiation of the policy of annexation which had added the Carnatic, Awadh, and other regions to British India. The detested principle of lapse, which was the dynastic counterpart of annexation, and which ran counter to the cherished Hindu ideas of succession, was also by implication given up by this proclamation. The princes were reassured of their dynastic and other privileges.

The other side of the dual policy was the enunciation by the Viceroy of the theory of "one charge", that is, that India under direct rule and India under the Princes constituted in effect one political unit. Lord Canning declared in 1862 that "the Crown of England stood forward, the unquestioned Ruler and Paramount Power in all India". By this theory of "one charge", and of being paramount power in all India, the independent and foreign allies of the Company, over whom, in the express terms of Lord Dalhousie's despatch, no paramountcy existed, became transformed into what
was then called, feudatories. Lord Canning unhesitatingly described the powers, which had fought and negotiated on terms of equality with the Company, as "feudatories". The Crown of England, he declared, was for the first time brought face to face with the feudatories, and there was a reality in the suzerainty of the Sovereign of England, which never existed before, and which was eagerly acknowledged by the chiefs.  

The two terms "feudatory" and "suzerainty" constituted both a theory and a programme, which the Princes at the time did not understand, but the effect of which they were to feel almost immediately in the grant of the Sanads of Adoption. It is obvious, from the public claim made by the Viceroy and the terms of the Sanad given to each State, that the transfer of the relationship from the Company to the Crown meant very much more than it purported to. The Queen's announcement to the Princes that "all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained", stated, no doubt, the legal position. Obviously the Crown cannot take over more than what the Company possessed; and, in the political theory of the Company, the States of India were "foreign States", against whom they declared wars, e.g., Coorg in 1834, and whose territories they annexed on the principle "of abandoning no just and honourable acquisition of territory".  

A silent constitutional revolution had been effected by the transfer of the power to the British Crown as suzerain authority, and a legal theory had to be found to justify it. This was provided by the Sanads of Adoption given to all the States which were recognized as such.

The right of adoption was conceded on the condition of loyalty to the Crown. Suzerainty was given a legal basis, and the Crown's paramountcy established irrevocably in exchange for the perpetuation of the dynasties. The right of Hindu rulers to adopt successors was never in doubt, even during the period when the doctrine of lapse held sway. No less than 26 adoptions had taken place during the period between 1826 and 1848. But, since the right was to be publicly confirmed, the opportunity was too good to be lost for the introduction of the new legal theory of paramountcy on the one side and loyalty on the other.

It has been held by eminent jurists that the Proclamation of the Crown should be read subject to the superior rights possessed by the Crown in virtue of paramountcy. Such an interpretation, while, no doubt, correct after the assumption of paramountcy through the Sanads of Adoption, could not clearly be read into the Proclamation
itself, because, in the first place, the East India Company did not possess any right of paramountcy, and, in the second place, it is inconsistent with the Act of Parliament by which the Crown accepted the treaties and engagements of the Company. But, legal discussions apart, the plain historical fact is that the transfer effected a change in constitutional relationship, which was made contractually binding on the States through the instrument of the Sanads of Adoption. India that passed to the Crown had, in effect, become "one charge", as Lord Canning proudly claimed, and the States became members of a single polity over which the Central Government of India presided with a double face,—a dual personality.

The geography of the States did not, except in relation to the frontier areas, undergo any material change since the assumption of government by the Crown. Mysore, Banaras and Sawantwadi were States nominally under their own sovereigns, though actually under British administration. So far as Mysore was concerned, there was never any doubt. In regard to Banaras and Sawantwadi, also, there was no reason for any doubt, and Sanads of Adoption were issued to them also. India remained geographically unaltered in the main.

In regard to the Frontier Areas, the position, however, underwent a gradual change. In 1860 Kashmir was an independent State. In the period between 1848 and 1860 Gulab Singh had been supported and encouraged in a policy of trans-Gilgit aggression which brought under his sway Chitrals, Chilas, Hunza and Nagar. Kashmir was in fact an instrument of British policy of influence and expansion in the Pamir Area till the Russians came on the scene, and till on the report of Pandit Manphul, the road to Kashgar was opened for trade. In 1886, on the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Kashmir was brought into the Indian States system. Similar was also the case with Sikkim and partially with Bhutan.

On the other hand, Nepal, which in the period between 1814 and 1848 was gravitating towards the position of a protected State, contracted out of it, mainly through the personality and statesmanship of Jung Bahadur Rana who assumed a Shogunate in that country after eliminating his rivals. The value attached by the Army authorities to Gurkha recruitment, and the virtual isolation of Nepal from any international sphere of activity, helped that State to maintain and develop its independent status.

With the establishment of Abdur Rahman at Kabul, and his success in maintaining his freedom of action, the necessity of settling the boundary area became important, and new territorial States, which were originally tribal chiefships, came into existence.
these, the most important were Chitral, Swat and Dir. Baluchistan came late into the Indian system early in the twentieth century, and the Khan of Kalat, as the ruler of non-British Baluchistan was styled, was the latest, and probably the last addition, to the Indian political system.

There is one further fact which is significant in relation to political geography. The position of the Orissa States was doubtful at the beginning of the period. Till the decision in Keshab Mahajan's case in 1878 these States were considered as being subject to British jurisdiction. The Privy Council decided in that case that the Ruler of Mayurbhanj was not a Zamindar but a Ruling Prince, and this decision governed the status of the Rulers of Orissa.

The period immediately following the Mutiny was one of internal decay in Indian States. The process had started earlier and had been noticed and commented upon by such political observers as Sleeman. The *Times* described the condition of affairs in the period immediately preceding the Mutiny as follows: "Our hand of iron maintains them on the throne, despite their imbecility, their vices and their crimes. The result is, in most of the States, a chronic anarchy under which the revenues of the States are dissipated between the mercenaries of the camp and the minions of the Court". The genius of individual administrators provided a few notable exceptions. Salar Jang laid the foundations of Hyderabad's future greatness on the chaos left to him by Chandulal. Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao provided Travancore with a modern system of government which, under the inspiring genius of Ayilyam Maharaja, was to make it a model State. Others also there were, —Jayaji Rao Sindhia, Maharaja Narendra Singh of Patiala, Sir Dinkar Rao and Dewan Sankunni Menon,—to mention only a few. But it may well be said that the period between the Mutiny and the trial of Malhar Rao Gaekwar in 1875 witnessed a process of decay in the States from which only their inherent strength enabled them to recover.

This period also saw the elaboration of the theory of "one charge". The main centres of India were connected by railways, and their alignment took the shortest route, and gave no consideration to political boundaries. Though many States were allowed to maintain their own posts, in all but four (Gwalior, Patiala, Nabha and Jind) the Imperial Post Office functioned as in the rest of India. The Imperial Telegraph system extended to every State, and only one, Kashmir, (owing to its late incorporation in the polity of India) was allowed to run a parallel system. The British Indian rupee came at the same time to possess a pre-eminence even where local
coinage continued to exist, as it did in many States, but the monetary policy of India became the sole concern of the Central Government.

Alongside with the material framework of a unified India, which was being created within this period, the moral forces were also working. The great Universities of the Presidency towns became the centres of learning, to which educational institutions in the States began to be affiliated. The great codes, which were promulgated in India, and the High Courts which were established, became the model and type of legislation and judicial system for the States, providing a similarity of form, if not of standards, for judicial administration. By a slow process, mainly during minorities and regencies, the framework of British Indian revenue administration was introduced into even backward areas.

The doctrine of “one charge” also gave rise to a new sense of responsibility, so far as the Central Government was concerned. In a minute of 1860 Lord Canning stated that it was the right of the Government of India to set right abuses in a native government. In a speech at Ajmer Lord Mayo told the Princes of Rajputana: “We estimate you not by the splendour of your offerings to us, nor by the pomp of your retinue here, but by your conduct to your own people at home. If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government”. In the Alwar case, where an administration was set up after the deposition of the ruler, Lord Mayo enunciated the principles of his policy towards Princes and States as follows: “I believe, if in any feudatory State in India oppression, tyranny, corruption, wastefulness and vice are found to be the leading characteristics of its administration, it is the imperative duty of the paramount power to interfere, and that we evade the responsibility which our position in India imposes on us, and avoid the discharge of a manifest duty, if we allow the people of any race or class to be plundered and oppressed. On the other hand, I am equally of opinion that, should a well disposed Chief, while using his utmost endeavours to establish good government within his State, be opposed by any insubordinate petty baron, mutinous troops or seditious classes of his subjects, it is then our duty to support his authority and power. Further, I believe that under no circumstances can we permit in any State the existence of civil war”.

These, he declared, were the three leading features of the policy he was prepared to recommend, and they remained the axioms of political practice till the end of the British rule.
The interest taken by Lord Mayo in the education and upbringing of Princes, which led to the establishment of the Mayo College, is another example of this feeling of responsibility. It will be seen that the foundations of the new policy towards the States, and the full elaboration of the dual system, were laid in the time of Lord Mayo. The theory of intervention was enunciated with clarity, and given effect to in Alwar and Tonk. The desire to introduce bureaucratic methods of administration in the States was emphasized, and Lord Mayo did not conceal his desire to use the opportunities afforded by regencies and minority administrations to introduce radical changes in the prevailing systems in the States. Definite claims of wardship over minor Rulers were put forward. A number of masterful Residents,—Daly, Lepel Griffin, and Aitchison among them,—created a tradition of Residential domination, which evoked from Edward VII during his visit to India, as Prince of Wales, a strong comment on the rude and rough manner of the Political Officers towards the Rulers.7 Lord Mayo was responsible in a great measure for the policy of nominating to the States, Diwans, chosen by the Political Department, as instruments for carrying out in the States the policy of reforms followed in British India.

The gradual growth of this integral unity was reflected, and received formal expression, in the General Clauses Act (Act I of 1868) which introduced the term British India for the directly administered territories of the Crown and by implication reserved the word India for the whole. The association of prominent personalities from the States in the affairs of the Central Government emphasized this fact. The Maharaja of Patiala was nominated a Member of the Supreme Council. After him, Raja Sir Dinkar Rao and Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao were also honoured in the same manner. The Central Legislature was then considered to be the organ of Indian and not British Indian Government.

The growth of this feeling of Indian unity, and the development of an all-India machinery of administration in matters of common concern, could not be reconciled with the misgovernment and chaos which prevailed in most of the States. The result was the famous trial and deposition of Malhar Rao Gaekwar, the first great landmark in the history of Indian States after the Mutiny. Malhar Rao was an irresponsible despot. No excuse of any kind could be made on his behalf. Misgovernment and oppression in the State reached such proportions that in 1874 the first Baroda Commission was appointed to report on the state of affairs. It reported in February, 1874. On this Lord Northbrook gave the Gaekwar time to put his affairs in order, and enunciated in his letter a theory which is the classic text.
of British intervention in States. "My friend", he said, "I cannot consent to employ British troops to protect anyone in course of wrong doing. Misrule on the part of a Government, which is upheld by British power, is misrule for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved. It becomes, therefore, not only the right but the positive duty of the British Government to see that the administration of the State in such a condition is reformed, and that gross abuses are removed".

The sentiment was no doubt unexceptionable; but the extent to which the British Government went to enforce these principles shocked the moral opinion of the Princes and people of India alike. The Gaekwar, the premier Hindu Prince and one of the oldest of Britain's Allies, one who claimed suzerainty over many Princes and States, was arrested. Not only was his person violated on a flimsy charge for trying to poison the Resident, but he was tried by a special tribunal consisting of three Europeans and three Indians (the Rulers of Gwalior and Jaipur, and Raja Sir Dinkar Rao). The European officials of the Government found the Gaekwar guilty; the three Indian members held otherwise. Malhar Rao was deposed and his own direct descendants excluded from succession. It is worth while to note here that Lord Salisbury officially declared: "His Majesty's Government have willingly accepted the opportunity of recognising in a conspicuous case the paramount obligation which lies upon them of protecting the people of India from oppression".8

The decision on the Baroda case laid down the principles of Intervention. "If these obligations (of Rulership) be not fulfilled, if gross misgovernment be permitted, if substantial justice be not done to the subjects of the Baroda State, if life and property be not protected, or if the general welfare of the country and people be persistently neglected, the British Government will assuredly intervene........." This is the first authoritative statement of the policy of the paramount obligation in relation to misgovernment in States and its right of intervention in defined cases.

The Baroda case also demonstrated to the rest of India the change in the position of Indian States, that one of the biggest of them, which had helped in the making of the British Empire, had ceased to be an Ally except by courtesy, and that the British Government in India not only claimed, but, in effect, enforced, its authority over the entire country.

That the action against the Gaekwar was high-handed was probably recognized from the beginning, but that it would be an outrage on Indian sentiment was not foreseen. Few in India, whether Princes or others, shared the strange view of the Maharaja Holkar of.
the time, who, more or less, encouraged Lord Northbrook in his action, and wrote flattering letters supporting the policy, realizing but little that it was the House of Holkar that was destined to bear the full brunt of this theory during the half a century that was to follow.

The deposition of the Gaekwar and the feeling of uncertainty created in the minds of the Princes as a result had one unexpected consequence. It was felt that something should be done to quieten the alarm of the Princes, and, under the inspiration of Disraeli, the first great Durbar was held in Delhi to announce the imperial titles assumed by the Queen. The Durbar was meant to be a visible representation of the new unity of India. The title of Empress itself gave no new rights or privileges to the British Crown in relation to the States, at least legally, though the mere fact that the great Princes were summoned to do homage from far and near gave a reality to the title which the Princes did not fail to recognize. The official statement that the Princes welcomed the Durbar was entirely wrong. The larger States certainly viewed the proposal as a humiliation, and feared that the imperial title might involve the revival of Mughul claims in regard to them.

The pomp and show of the Durbar was important in its own way, and Lord Lytton, with the imagination of a poet, had suggested many schemes including a Privy Council for India for the purpose of consolidating the unity of the country. But a more important result of the deposition of the Gaekwar was the rendition of Mysore in 1881. The decision had been hanging fire since 1868, when the original Ruler, whose maladministration was the ostensible cause of the introduction of British administration in the State, had passed away. The alarm caused in the minds of the Princes by the action against the Ruler of Baroda and the failure of the Imperial Durbar to quieten that alarm, led to a final decision by which Mysore was restored to its legitimate sovereign.

The period from the deposition of the Gaekwar—a landmark in the history of the States—to the departure of Lord Curzon in 1905 may be called the period of stabilization. The process of decay, which was so clearly marked in the first eighteen years after the Mutiny, had been arrested. The next quarter of a century witnessed a marked and notable revival in the authority, prestige and efficiency of State administrations. No doubt this was to some extent due to the policy of Lord Mayo bearing fruit. But to a larger extent it was the result of the inherent resilience of the States themselves. The feudal and military organization of the States gave place to the modern conception of centralized administration, to the civil government whose sphere of activity extended to the entire life of
the people, to the State, as an organism with definite functions and obligations. The programme chalked out by Sir T. Madhava Rao in 1879 gives a good indication of what was being attempted by the more enlightened administrators during this period. This is what he laid down: “To maintain public order and tranquillity with firmness and moderation: to establish a proper and sufficient machinery for the dispensation of justice: to provide a police: to provide for useful public works: to promote public education: to provide suitable medical agencies: to reduce the burden of taxation: to enforce economy in expenditure: to greatly strengthen executive establishments, so that government may pervade and be coextensive with the country and population, and may make itself felt throughout these dominions”. In short, to create a modern administration.

The birth pangs of this system were severe in some areas where the authority of Central Government had been traditionally weak, and the Thakurs and nobles exercised powers in their own Jagirs. Alwar and Bikaner provided examples of the resistance of the nobles to the change, but, even in Rajputana, where the strength of the semi-feudal baronage was rooted in history, the modern State, with its totalitarian claims, came definitely into being.

In less backward areas the process of stabilization was even more marked. Sir T. Madhava Rao, who was the head of the Regency set up after the deposition of Malhar Rao, laid the firm foundations of modern administration in Baroda, on which Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar was able to build with outstanding results. The earlier activity of Madhava Rao in the same direction bore fruit in the progressive and reforming administration of Ayilym Maharaja who may justly be called the founder of modern Travancore. After Travancore Madhava Rao turned his attention to Indore, where also the foundations he laid stood the test of the two successive eras of maladministration leading to the deposition of Rulers. The genius of Seshadri Iyer made Mysore the model State that it continued to be till the last. A band of lesser known personalities carried on the good work in other States.

One notable feature of this period was the emergence of outstanding personalities among the Rulers themselves. Sayaji Rao III of Baroda may be said to have epitomized in his person the strength and limitations of the conception of the Patriot King as applied to the conditions of Indian States. A wise and far-seeing Ruler, a genuine liberal in the Benthamite tradition, an ardent social reformer, and one with a proper appreciation of the importance of science and industry in modern life, and, above all, with a clear understanding of the integral unity of the States with India, Maharaja Sayaji Rao
was undoubtedly one of the greatest Indians of his day. In massive
ness and range, his achievements over a period of half a century
of active administration were truly remarkable. The weakness con-
sisted in the personal character of the rule, and the dependence of
the whole process of reform on the personality of the Ruler.

One other fact remains to be noticed, and that is the reorganiza-
tion of the forces maintained by the States. The existence of the
armies in Indian States was an eyesore to the Government of India.
Lord Napier had reported in a despatch in 1870: "There are consi-
derable forces under native chiefs, who may be individually friendly
but whose troops can never be relied on not to join against us. Our
military force at Gwalior is much inferior in strength to that which
Scindia could bring against it. . . . . . . . We are aware that the
Deccan, Central India and the Border States of Rajputana, such as
Kerowlee and Kotah, could furnish larger bodies of men than those
which gave such ample occupation to General Stewart's, and, after-
wards, Sir Hugh Rose's and Sir John Mitchell's forces". The mili-
tary authorities had never forgotten the fact that Tantia Topi had
received his reinforcements by the wholesale desertion of troops
in certain Indian States. But though suspicion was strong, no defi-
nite policy was attempted till the time of Lord Dufferin. It was
Dufferin who saw the possibility of developing the military resources
of the States for Imperial purposes. He asked the States, which had
"specially good fighting material in their armies, to raise a portion
of those armies to such a pitch of general efficiency as will make
them fit to go into action side by side with Imperial Troops". It
was, however, only in 1889 that effective steps were taken to orga-
nize the Imperial Service Troops. The principles underlying the
scheme were that the maintenance of these forces would be on an
entirely voluntary basis, that the troops would be recruited from the
people of the States, and they would be officered by Indians.

The organization of the Imperial Service Troops was an event
of notable importance. It was in the first place clear evidence of the
fact that the Central Government had come to the conclusion that
the existence of State armies did not any longer constitute a danger.
Secondly, it was a further manifestation of the growing unity of
India that a portion of the troops of the States should be earmarked
for the defence of the motherland. It should perhaps be added that
some of the leading States like Baroda, Travancore, Indore and Rewa
considered this at the time as an attack on their independence, and
kept out of the scheme altogether.

The theory of "one charge", of India as a single conception, was
thus making practical headway all the time. But the legal justifica-
tion of this theory did not keep pace with the practice. Certain unfortunate events in the far off State of Manipur provided the necessary opportunity for a further elaboration of principles. The facts of the Manipur case have been stated above. Two brothers of the Maharaja rose in rebellion and installed the Jubaraj on the Gadi. The Central Government recognized the new Ruler, but dehanded that another brother, who was suspected by them to be the principal leader of the revolt, should be expelled. On failure to take immediate action, the British troops attacked the Manipur palace; some British officers were murdered; a British force entered the territory, deposed the Jubaraj, and sentenced him, his brother, and others to be hanged. But the importance of the case lies not in punishing an heir apparent who had been recognized as the Ruler, but in the claim put forward in the Proclamation that, in obeying the constituted authority of a State, the subjects of that State were committing rebellion. The subjects of the States were thereby held to have a direct allegiance to the Paramount Power.

The Manipur case differs from the Baroda case in one important respect. In the Baroda case it was the obligation of the Ruler towards his people that was emphasized, and the right of the Paramount Power to take political action against a Ruler who failed in that duty was sought to be established. In the Manipur case, it was carried a step further, and the overriding loyalty of the subjects of the State to the Paramount Power was insisted upon.

The apogee of the Imperial theory was reached in the time of Lord Curzon, whose Viceroyalty (1898-1905) may be regarded as the culmination of the claims of imperialism. Lord Curzon's general theory was that the Princes were merely the agents of the Crown in the administration of their territory, and that they had no inherent rights of their own. "The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative", declared the Viceroy, at the installation of the Nawab of Bahawalpur. From allies the Princes had been reduced, at least according to the theory of Lord Curzon, to the position of hereditary officers. It was the theory of indirect government in its nakedness. Lord Curzon's attitude was reflected in many matters. The Princes were asked not to use red liveries. They were not to leave their States without permission—ticket of leave, as one Prince called it. The phraseology used in regard to them was scrutinized with a view to bringing home to them their subordinate position. The interference of the Residents and Political Officers reached such a pitch that one well-meaning and otherwise sympathetic Resident wrote to a Ruler that he (Resident) considered that he was not worth his salt if he did not interfere in whatever matter he considered fit.
The result of all this was a great unrest among the Princes themselves. Maharaja Sayaji Rao III of Baroda, whose administrative and political reforms in his own State had earned for him the admiration of the whole of India, became the spear-head of resistance to Lord Curzon's policy. Other Rulers of outstanding ability were also making their mark at this time,—Maharaja Madhava Rao Sindhia of Gwalior, Maharaja Krishna Raya III of Mysore, and Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner. Further, the growth of a strong nationalist movement in India also had its repercussion on the States in so far as the British Government was forced to turn to the Princes again for support.

This period also witnessed the introduction of popular institutions in the States. In Mysore, a representative assembly was established, and in Travancore, a legislative council—cautious steps in the beginning but indicative of a desire to associate the people with the Government. Municipal Boards and village panchayats also began to function practically at the same time.  

III. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN INDIAN STATES:

1. The Indian States in the new set-up:

Their Diversity and Uniformity.

The British as the paramount power introduced a new political system by making settlement with individual States which enforced subordinate co-operation, allegiance and loyalty on all the Indian States, both large and small, and each of them was politically isolated. So far as material conditions were concerned, generally speaking, the States were now set on the path of peace, progress and prosperity. But the very nature of the new political settlement brought with it definite limitations on the scope and extent of the internal polity of each of the States. With the crystallization of the fluid contemporary political conditions prevalent at the time of the settlement, many new problems arose. The new political conditions brought about a major cultural crisis in the Indian States. The prevalent administrative systems of the States, left undisturbed, could not possibly meet the requirement of the changed times. They were queer mixture of more than one system, and these too were completely dislocated owing to the prolonged anarchy and political instability that preceded the settlement. The States, therefore, could not possibly expect to survive unless their administrations were re-organized on completely different lines. The Indian Princes and their subjects at first looked upon the institutions and ideas of the British with distrust and suspicion. But now that the British were supreme in India, their western ideals and culture successfully effected slow
but steady penetration into the obdurate crust of the oriental obstinacy and the proverbial conservatism of the East. The progress and development of the new administrative system and the popular political institutions based on the Western ideals could not possibly be either simultaneous or uniform in the different States. The geographical situation of the numerous far-flung States and the varying stages of the political, social and cultural development of their people were vital factors. The economic conditions, too, greatly affected the nature and the pace of these reforms. The States, with their finances seriously disorganized or heavily burdened with large cash contributions, and very small States, with scanty income and very limited resources, could not possibly think of administrative or political reforms for a long time to come. Finally, the political isolation of each State, coupled with the policy of non-intervention, contributed in no small degree to this lack of uniformity in administrative and political developments of the different States.

There was, however, one factor which to a large extent counteracted against or neutralized these tendencies. Amid the diversity prevailing in the States, the British Government provided the only unifying factor. All the States looked up to it for advice and guidance in matters of administrative as well as political reforms. Thus measures introduced in British Indian provinces were more or less faithfully copied with necessary modifications and duly adopted by the Indian States. This was facilitated by the spread of the English education and the western ideas, which placed at the disposal of the Indian States a new set of administrators who could introduce and carry out these reforms. Again, though the British Government professed the policy of strict non-intervention, they modified it in more ways than one. The authority and interference of the Resident-Ministers of the Company at the Indian Courts gradually increased, and thus there arose the 'political practice' which effectively modified the original treaties and engagements, and brought about the necessary uniformity in the pattern of the administrative reforms and political evolution in the Indian States. Later, as a result of 'subordinate union', the States became "an integral factor in the imperial organization in India", which merely strengthened the forces bringing about uniformity in their administrations.

2. The years of Settlement and early Reforms (1818-1857).

The forty years immediately following the pacification effected by the Marquess of Hastings were years of settlement. There were still left many outstanding issues and tentative arrangements to be finalized. A series of new problems arose as each treaty was put into practice. The system of mediation and guarantees was ano-
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ther source of fresh troubles and more intricacies. The payment to the British Government for the maintenance of the subsidiary contingents was one of the most important questions. Lean finances of the impoverished States could not bear this heavy burden and there was a complete breakdown of their financial administrative system. Time and again fresh arrangements had to be made for the clearing of past arrears along with the regular payment of sums annually due under the provisions of the original treaty. The Hyderabad State, as noted above,\textsuperscript{11} had, therefore, to permanently cede the districts of Berar in 1853. The situation in Baroda was by no means better, and the Governor of Bombay had to temporarily sequester more than once some districts of the Gaekwad’s territories. Similarly, all the good work done by Col. James Tod in Mewar was undone on his departure, and the Court of Directors had to order in 1833 that sufficient security be required from the Maharana. Practically all the States, big and small, had to face similar financial troubles. There were also serious administrative difficulties in the States, as there was a real dearth of able administrators at this time. Internal disorders were a rule rather than an exception in the States. The subjugation of the feudal nobles presented a real problem in many of the Rajputana States.

Questions of successions and adoptions led to the formation of hostile groups and parties and the fomentation of endless intrigues in the States concerned. Regular administration virtually broke down in many of the States, while in many others some form of administration existed more or less only in name.

In cases of States, which had ‘by particular engagements rendered themselves professedly feudatory’, the British Government exercised its supremacy. Thus in Travancore the interference of the Political Agents stationed there extended even to matters of minute details of internal administration. In Mysore State, as noted above,\textsuperscript{12} Lord Bentinck intervened in 1830-1, deprived the Maharaja of ruling powers, and entrusted the administration of the State to the British Commissioners specially appointed by the British Government for this purpose. In Kolhapur, too, taking advantage of the relevant provision in the treaty, the British Government appointed first a minister, and later a British officer as its Political Superintendant.\textsuperscript{13}

The policy adopted in respect of the other States was to hold them ‘as vassals in substance, though not in name; . . . possessed of perfect internal sovereignty’. Hence the British Government refused to intervene in cases of disputed successions, Bharatpur being the only exception.\textsuperscript{13a} Matters of social reforms were enforced in the
States only by means of special agreements. The British Government felt no concern in the administration of all these States except in so far as it touched their own interests. But they felt no scruple even in coercing the rulers to appoint as ministers persons who agreed to be their subservient tools when it suited their interests to do so.  

This policy as well as the demoralization of the ruler and his court, which was an almost inevitable consequence of the system of Subsidiary Alliance, worked havoc in the Indian States. Many of the States, including those which were once most powerful, were reduced to the most abject condition, and anarchy and disaffection prevailed throughout their dominions. The history of the Nizam, Sindia, Gaekwad, Holkar, and many others during this period bears testimony to this fact. The Subsidiary Force, the presence of the Resident, and the guarantee of the Ruler's possessions against external aggression, had combined to undermine the initiative and responsibility of Rulers and sap the foundations of social well-being in the States. There was, besides, the well-grounded fear that the display of ability, honesty and energy on the part of a ruler was sure to put him in the black list of the Government of India.  

No wonder that the old edifice of administration, reared up through centuries to suit the peculiar conditions of the States, was visibly crumbling down to ruins.

The administration of the States was mainly military in character. The progressive anarchy of the 18th century had broken down the traditional respect for government and the automatic obedience to the law. The collection of the revenue was not possible in the States without a show of military force. 'The chronic warfare and perpetual fluctuations of State limits broke down the custom of paying taxes to one unvarying authority; and taxes themselves came to be a sort of black-mail paid to avoid plunder rather than the regular levies paid as the price of order and protection'. Expenses incurred on the armed forces were heavy, and made civil administration impossible. No importance was attached to Police functions. The administration of justice was rough and ready. There were neither regular laws nor any fixed gradation of courts. There were no proper jails but mere lock-ups where no attention was paid either to their sanitary conditions or to the health and discipline of their inmates. The revenue administration was very primitive and had been completely disorganized. The land-rent was not fixed and was collected in kind. There was no fixity of tenure. Villages were gene-
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rally farmed out. There were no regular departments of customs and excise; these revenues used to be farmed out. No attention was paid either to the education or public health of the subjects.

In the meanwhile the British Government had decided that in the event of revolt, misrule, failure of heirs, etc., in the States, their annexation was the only possible method for setting them right. Thus began in 1834 the policy of annexation which was further developed later, and finally completed by the time of Lord Dalhousie.\textsuperscript{16a} The future of the States, was, therefore, evidently dark and definitely gloomy. There was, however, slowly appearing a silver lining to these threatening clouds. Mysore State, already under British Administrators, was being re-organized as a British province. During the early forties, taking advantage of the minority administrations, a beginning of well-conducted regular administration under British supervision was made in many important States like Gwalior, Indore and Jaipur. Moreover, by now a new set of rulers and administrators was coming up. The recovery of the States 'from the almost complete breakdown on their finance and administration was due in no less degree to the energy, ability and farsightedness of a new school of statesmen represented by Salar Jang of Hyderabad, Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Madhav Rao of Indore, who laid, truly and well, the foundations of modern administration in Indian States'. In 1851 Dinkar Rao was appointed Diwan at Gwalior, while two years later Salar Jang was raised to that high office in Hyderabad. But their good work was suddenly interrupted due to the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857.

During this period schools were opened in many States and regular study of English language was started. As elsewhere in India, the European missionaries were the pioneers of the English education in the States also, and opened schools in Mysore, Travancore and Hyderabad. Systematic State education did not, however, begin in many of the States till after the famous Wood despatch of 1854. In the States of Northern India everything depended on the State authorities. In Rajputana, schools were opened by the States of Alwar (1842), Jaipur (1845) and Bharatpur (1858). In Malwa, too, through individual efforts, the Sehore school was established in 1839, a school was opened in Indore in 1843, and some were established in the districts of the Gwalior State during the year 1854-5. The Kolhapur State, too, opened four schools in 1848, while in 1853 a beginning was made in Kathiawar with the opening of an English school at Rajkot. It was a modest beginning, but a move in the right direction.
3. Administrative reorganization of the States and the beginnings of Local Self-government (1858-80)

In 1858 the Crown assumed the direct government of India and, as noted above, the central control over the States was definitely growing. The work of administrative reorganization of the States, interrupted in 1857, was taken up once again after peace was restored, and much was done in that direction during the next twenty-two years.

In Hyderabad, Salar Jang, who had been appointed the Prime Minister in 1853, continued to hold the supreme power in the State till his untimely death in 1883. With remarkable assiduity and uncommon mastery of details he reorganized every part of administration. A revenue survey and settlement was taken in hand and partially completed, regular civil and criminal courts were established, a regular police force was organized for the first time, and the education and medical departments received their due share of attention. Famine-relief measures were first undertaken in 1876. Finally, particular attention was given to the improvement of the finances of the State, which had become greatly involved.

In Rajputana, too, the country was being opened up. Special efforts were made to check dacoities and to put down the unruly nobles. Regular courts of justice and well-managed jails were being established. The criminal and civil laws enacted for British India were being adopted with necessary modifications. Efforts were made to improve land revenue administration and to reduce petty and vexatious cesses. In 1878 the Udaipur State decided to carry out a regular settlement. Schools and hospitals received special attention. Under the able leadership of Maharaja Ram Singh the Jaipur State was progressing most rapidly. A second grade College and a School of Art were established, and a public library and a reading room were opened in Jaipur. Water-works (1875) and gas works (1878) were also started in the Jaipur city.

In Central India, too, things were definitely moving. In Indore, Tukoji Holkar, himself a capable administrator, was ably assisted by his Prime Minister, Sir T. Madhav Rao (1873-75). With its administration reformed and reorganized, Indore became the leading State in Malwa. In Gwalior Dinkar Rao had begun well by introducing radical reforms in every department of the administration, but he could not continue there after 1859, and then not much was done by way of reforms. In other States also close supervision of their administration led to great reforms. A regular survey for settlement purposes was made. The judiciary was being organized and British Indian laws were being adopted with necessary
modifications. Regular police force was being organized and education was fostered. A medical school in connection with the Indore Residency Charitable Hospital was started in 1878.

In Kathiawar the Princes and Chiefs were divided into seven classes and their individual powers and jurisdictions were finally defined in 1863. Outlawry was suppressed and courts of justice were reformed. Education was fostered and a few State dispensaries were opened. Famine-relief works were undertaken there for the first time in 1877.

Meanwhile the administration of Mysore was being brought into line with the Regulation Provinces by Bowring, the Commissioner for Mysore (1862-70). The State was re-divided into new divisions and districts. Revenue survey and settlement was carried out. A scheme for the education of the masses was put into practice, and the Central College was opened at Bangalore in 1875. Similarly, during fourteen years (1858-1872) of his diwanship, Sir T. Madhav Rao had done much to reform the already well-organized administration of Travancore State. Monopolies were abolished, British Indian laws were adopted, and the Courts were reorganized on British Indian model. Land tax was reduced, past arrears were wiped out, and vexatious taxes were abolished. A department of vernacular education was established in 1865. The public debt of the State was completely paid off.

Of all the major States, Baroda was still lagging behind. Khande Rao Gaekwad (1856-70) began his reign with a real desire to better the administration of the State, and, in order to improve land revenue system, commenced a land survey. But his fondness for chase, jewels, display and buildings left him no money to spend on useful public works. In 1870, when he was succeeded by his brother, Malhar Rao, the situation worsened still further and the administration rapidly deteriorated. Malhar Rao was, however, deposed and deported from Baroda in 1875. As Sayaji Rao III was then only thirteen years of age, the administration was conducted by Sir T. Madhav Rao as the Diwan-Regent during the minority of the ruler (1875-1882), and it marks the beginning of a new era in the history of that State. The entire administration was now being reorganized on the model of British Indian Provinces. The finances were restored to a healthy condition, and efficient revenue system was introduced, vexatious taxes were swept away, and judiciary was reorganized with proper gradation of powers. Police administration was completely overhauled. Magisterial and police functions were separated, and a clear line of demarcation was drawn between the
army and the police. The department of public instruction was opened in 1875 and a year later the medical department was started.

There was also a beginning of local self-government in the Indian States. In 1862 a municipal committee was constituted at Bangalore as an experimental measure, and was later followed by more municipalities at the district and Taluk head-quarters, their number finally rising to 83 in 1881. Jaipur and Indore States established municipalities in their capitals in 1868. A year later municipal administration was introduced in Hyderabad city and its suburbs also. Finally, in 1877 municipalities were established in all towns of the Baroda State containing a population of 10,000 people and over, excepting Dwarka. But all the members of all these municipalities were nominated, though non-officials too were included among them. Local self-government, in its strict sense, was nowhere introduced save in Mysore. The municipalities were no more than local committees dealing with lighting and sanitation, while in some cases, these were entirely managed by the State.

4. Administrative Reforms and Local Self-government (1881-1905). The year 1881 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the political development of the Indian States. More than one event of outstanding importance took place this year. The ruling powers were restored to the young Maharaja Chama Rajendra Wodeyar of Mysore, and Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III was formally installed and invested with ruling powers. But the importance of the year 1881 is mainly due to an event, the real importance and full significance of which were not duly realized then. Soon after assuming the ruling powers the Maharaja of Mysore formed in that State a Representative Assembly, the first popular institution of its kind in any Indian State, to bring the people into immediate association with the Government and thus ensure greater harmony between the actions of the Government and the wishes and interests of the people. This new development in Mysore was destined, in time to come, to materially alter and completely remodel the very conception of kingship in India as was then held in the States. Before proceeding to a detailed study of this new trend, the administrative reforms and further developments in the local self-government movement during the period may be summarily described.

a. Administrative Reforms

The unique and powerful personality of Sayaji Rao Gaekwad completely dominated this period. He carried on the good work begun by Sir T. Madhav Rao, and infused a new spirit and zeal in the administration of the State. A new survey and settlement was
carried out and a number of unremunerative taxes on the agriculturists were abolished. The judiciary was completely overhauled, and the separation of judiciary from the executive was effected by 1904. The finances of the State were improved. Every possible care was taken in selecting really capable administrators and officers for the State. Educationally, too, Baroda made great progress. The Baroda College and a training college for women teachers were established, and in 1890 the Kalam-Bhavan was opened for imparting technical education. The Museum was established four years later. An experiment in compulsory free education was started in the Amreli taluk in 1893; and this system was extended to other taluks also in 1904. Numerous exemptions were, however, allowed to meet the particular local conditions. Socially, too, a definite lead was taken in Baroda by passing the Widow's Remarriage Act and the Infant Marriage Prevention Act, in 1901 and 1904, respectively.

According to the instrument of transfer, the then existing laws, rules and system of administration were to continue in the Mysore State. Further progress was made even after the rendition. The revenue laws were codified after 1886 and agricultural banks were started in 1894. A civil service scheme was adopted in 1891. A scheme for technical education was brought into effect in 1902. The Mysore State now planned for its industrial development, and the Kaveri power schemes were vigorously pursued. In 1905 the Tata Institute (now Indian Institute of Science) was established in Bangalore. Reorganization of its police force in 1880-1 and establishment of a medical school in 1887, were the main achievements of the Travancore State.

In Malwa the period is noteworthy for the general all-round progress made by the Gwalior State during the regency administration (1886-1894) and the rule of Maharaja Madho Rao Sindhia, who took a deep and active interest in the administration. Thus judiciary was reorganized in 1888. Codes based on those of British India were issued in 1895. Fresh survey and settlement was made after 1890. Regular departments of irrigation, forest, customs, and excise were organized. Medical department was first organized in 1887. The police force was brought into line with that of British India in 1903.

In other States of Malwa, too, conditions were steadily improving. More schools were now being opened, and in 1891 the Holkar College was started at Indore. Judiciary was also being reorganized and more attention was being paid to the jails and police. A complete reorganization of the Indore State Police was taken up in 1903, with a view to reorganize it on the lines of that in British India.
Finally, relief measures were undertaken for the first time in Central India during the famines of 1896-7 and 1899-1900.

In Rajputana the period is marked by general improvement in administrative systems of all the States. Regular survey was carried out and settlement was made in majority of these States on the lines of British India. Efforts were continued to foster the increase of education and medical relief throughout Rajputana. Jails were improved and police was being organized into a regular independent force. Definite laws were introduced and judiciary was being improved. The most noteworthy thing of this period was the rapid reorganization and the rise into importance of the two major Rathore States of Jodhpur and Bikaner. After long periods of weak and inefficient rule in Jodhpur the administration of Maharaja Jaswant Singh (1873-1895) was distinguished by the vigour and success with which dacoities and crimes of violence were suppressed, by pushing on the construction of railways and irrigation works, improving the customs tariff, undertaking a regular revenue settlement including introduction of cash payments in the Khalsa areas, and finally by the establishment of Jaswant College at Jodhpur in 1894. Particular attention was paid to the opening of hospitals and affording medical relief to the people.

Bikaner, too, had been quite backward and unorganized till 1887 when the minor Maharaja Ganga Singh was installed on the gadi. The few reforms effected by his predecessor, Dungar Singh, had been shortlived, and the affairs had gradually relapsed into confusion after 1883. The Council of Regency (1887-1898) thoroughly overhauled the entire administration and reorganized State finances on sound lines. Ghaggar canals were constructed. A regular land settlement was made for the first time. On getting his powers Maharaja Ganga Singh took an active part and personal interest in the famine-relief operations of 1899-1900, and in 1903 he set about to reorganize a properly co-ordinated and efficient secretariat to meet the demands of a new age. Then followed a series of important reforms to improve the condition of the ryots.

b. Local Self-government

The efforts to extend local self-government in the States were continued. Progress of the municipalities in Mysore was duly maintained, and their number rapidly increased. In 1892 the system of electing some non-official members was introduced. The system of municipal taxation and finances was revised, and new sources of municipal income were allotted to these bodies.

The conditions in other States were not so advanced. In Hyderabad State more Municipal Committees or local boards were
established, but no real advance was made and the members were still being nominated. In Travancore State a start was made only in 1900, when an enactment, framed on the lines of the Municipal Acts of British India, was passed. In Malwa the municipal self-government was still not common. The Gwalior State made a beginning by establishing a municipal board in Gwalior in 1887, and by 1905 as many as 48 of its members were being elected out of a total of 80. More municipalities were opened by the Gwalior and Indore States in populous towns. Regular municipalities or town committees were constituted in Bhopal, Ratlam and a few other large towns also. In Rajputana municipal committees had been established at Jodhpur and Bikaner in 1884 and 1889, respectively. But Rajputana still did not contain any municipality in the true sense of the term, enjoying the corporate privileges of local self-government, and all the members were still being nominated.

The conditions in the Baroda State, had, however, rapidly progressed. The Maharaja was most anxious to preserve as much of the ancient self-government in the villages as was possible. He sanctioned in 1892 a municipal scheme embodying principles of election, but it was not until 1904 that the Local Self-government Act was passed, which set up boards in every district and sub-district in the State. There, too, the elective principle was introduced.

c. The Beginnings of Democracy in the Indian States

Gradual changes in the system of government in British India in order to bring about increasing association of the Indians with the business of legislation were, as mentioned above, 17 made by the Indian Councils Acts of 1861 and 1892, the last of which adopted the elective principle in the formation of Indian legislatures. The position was radically different in Indian States, where there was no foreign rule in the strict sense of the term. Hence any political development there, on similar lines, was to mean merely the beginning of the association of the people, first with the legislation and finally with the administration itself, with a view to its ultimate development into real responsible government in the State, the Ruler becoming its constitutional head. But without a careful analysis of these differing political conditions, the Indian States merely went on to reproduce the pattern as laid out by the British Government from time to time for the Indian Legislative Council established at Calcutta. The Mysore Representative Assembly was the one rare exception of a different design, but it was more or less only an organized annual public durbar, and not a legislature of the same sort till 1923 when it was given a statutory basis. This Representative Assembly of Mysore met once a year at Mysore at the time of

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the Dashera festival. The Diwan made his annual statement on
the condition of the finances and the measures of the State, after
which suggestions by members were considered. The Assembly
consisted mainly of “the representative landholders and merchants
from all parts of the State”. In 1891 the privilege of election was
conceded to higher landed interests and the graduates of the Indian
Universities residing in the taluks, and the number of representa-
tives for each taluk was fixed. Time and again attempts were made
by members that votes be taken, but this right was not conceded by
the Government. The Assembly owed its origin to an executive
order of the Government, and this continued till 1923, when major
constitutional changes were introduced in this State.

In Hyderabad the move for the association of the people with
legislative work was first made when the Council of State, composed
of the principal nobles, with the Nizam as President, became a Legis-
lative Council also. But this arrangement did not meet with much
success, and hence in 1893 orders were promulgated for the esta-
ablishment of a regular Legislative Council for making laws for the
State. It was to consist of the Chief Justice, a puisne judge of the
High Court, the Inspector-General of Revenue, the Director of Pub-
lic Instruction, the Inspector-General of Police and Financial Secre-
tary. But by an Act passed in the following year (1894), the Nizam
recognized the right of the people to a share in the work of framing
laws and to representation. In 1900 this regulation of 1894 was
re-enacted with certain modifications, which remained in force for
many decades. The Legislative Council, thus constituted, consisted
of 19 members of whom, besides the President and Vice-President,
11 were official and 6 non-official members. The Minister was the
President, and the Assistant Minister, whose department was con-
cerned with the bill before the Council, was the Vice-President for
the time being. Of the 6 non-official members, 2 were elected by
the Jagirdars and land-owners, 2 by the pleaders of the High Court,
and the remaining 2 were nominated by the Minister from among
the residents of the States, of whom one was to be nominated from
the Paigah ilaga. The non-official members were appointed for two
years, but retiring members were eligible for re-election. Bills,
with the statements of objects and reasons, were published in the
State Gazette in various vernaculars for eliciting public opinion.

The Travancore State, however, proved to be the most progres-
sive; its plan for introducing popular institutions was very system-
ic, and real powers were given to these bodies. Its Legislative
Council was brought into existence in 1888, the Ruler's right of direct
legislation independently of the Council remaining unimpaired. The
Council had a minimum of five members and a maximum of eight, of whom not less than two were to be non-officials, nominated by the Government. The Diwan or, in his absence, the senior official member present presided over its deliberations. The Council was a purely deliberative body for purposes of legislation and had no administrative functions. But it had plenary powers of legislation, subject to the ruler’s assent before any measure could pass into laws. Previous sanction of the Diwan was necessary before any measure, either affecting the public revenues of the State or imposing any charge on them, could be introduced in the Council. Provision was also made for inviting public opinion in respect of particular bills before the same were passed by the Council. The Council was enlarged in 1898, the minimum number of members being 8 and maximum 15, the proportion of non-officials being fixed at not less than two-fifths of the total number. The Diwan was given powers to arrange, with the previous sanction of the Ruler, for the introduction of elective principle in the selection of the non-official members of the Council. The jurisdiction of the Council was precisely defined, and it was not allowed to entertain any measures affecting the ruling family or its relations with the Paramount Power.

A further advance was made in 1904, when a representative assembly, known as the ‘Shri Mulam Popular Assembly’, was formed with the object of enabling the people of the State to express their wants and wishes, and represent their views on administrative measures directly to the Government. The members of the Assembly were at first nominated by the State from among the agricultural, trading, industrial and other classes, but from the second year the privilege of electing members to the Assembly was granted to the people themselves. Out of a total of 70 members, 42 members were elected from 35 taluks of the State. The Government nominated the remaining members out of which 14 were to be non-officials. The Diwan was the President of the Assembly. The next instalment of reforms followed only in 1919.

The reforms carried out in some of the States, as noted above, should not be taken to mean a general state of improved system of administration in Indian States in the nineteenth century. The picture of wholesome progress indicated by the reforms, though justified, at least partially, in the case of a few of the more advanced, was unfortunately not quite true in regard to the vast majority of the Indian States. The old and outmoded Medieval system more or less still prevailed in them. The rulers of all the States, big or small, were full-fledged autocrats without any real restraint on their power of oppressing the people. The rule of law which gave protection and security of life and property to every individual subject in British
India, so far at least as the relation between one Indian and another was concerned, was in practice altogether absent in the Indian States. The personal wish or caprice of these autocratic rulers was unchecked by any rule or convention, and serious allegations have often been publicly made against them of inflicting unmerited insults and injuries upon all classes of people and even of dishonouring women. Not a few of these autocratic rulers were licentious in the extreme and led a life of luxury and debauchery at the cost of their subjects. Some of them lavished their wealth on fast women and slow horses, while others indulged in crude extravagant habits of the most frivolous type. All this should not be ignored in making a proper assessment of the Indian States.¹⁷α

IV. SOME INDIVIDUAL STATES.

1. Hyderabad.

As has been mentioned in the preceding volume, the Nizam of Hyderabad accepted the Subsidiary Alliance in 1798, and his relations with the British were further regulated by the Treaty of 1800. Henceforth the chief interest of the history of Hyderabad lies in the nature of the British control exercised over this State. The question whether the British Government should interfere with the internal administration of the State came to the fore in 1808. Mir Alam, the Nizam's able Minister and a sincere friend of the British Government, died in 1808. The two principal competitors for the vacant post were Munir-ul-Mulk (son-in-law of Mir Alam) and Shamsul-Umara (chief of the military party in the State). The Nizam sought the advice of Lord Minto who recommended the appointment of Shams-ul-Umara. The Nizam selected Munir-ul-Mulk but, in order to avoid giving offence to the British Government, made Munir-ul-Mulk enter into an agreement that the affairs of the State should be conducted through the agency of one Chandu Lal (a staunch supporter of British interests). This was an arrangement satisfactory to both the parties—the Nizam and the British Government.

During the rule of Sikandar Jah (1803-1829) the British Government interfered a great deal in the internal administration of Hyderabad. There was maladministration. The revenues of the State were farmed to contractors, who were practically supreme in their several districts. In consequence, the grossest oppression prevailed, and the disciplined force under British officers was repeatedly called out to repress local rebellion. The country was infested with robber bands. In order to restore law and order British officers were employed in...
different districts. They settled the amount of revenue to be levied, and under their administration the country soon improved.

When Nasir-ud-daula succeeded Sikandar Jah in 1829, he requested the British Government that the direct interference of British officers in the administration should be discontinued. He was assured that provided revenue settlements made by the British officers were maintained for the full period of their currency, the British Government would withdraw from all interference, and the Nizam would be absolute both in the selection and removal of his minister, and in all other matters of internal administration. The withdrawal of interference was carried out on these conditions.

A fresh cause of dispute arose regarding the payment of the Hyderabad Contingent. By the Treaty of 1800, the Nizam had agreed to supplement the Subsidiary Force by 6,000 infantry and 9,000 horse of his own troops. He had further agreed to use every effort to bring the whole force of his dominions into the field as speedily as possible. The Nizam's force, however, was not very efficient and when in 1813 one of the corps mutinied, two regiments of reformed troops were raised and they were armed and equipped like the Company's troops. Due to financial difficulties the Nizam was obliged to borrow funds from the Company for payment of the Contingent. In 1853 the debt had risen to upwards of Rs. 45 lakhs. How Lord Dalhousie, taking advantage of this, coerced the Nizam to conclude a new treaty has been mentioned above. By the treaty of 21 May, 1853, Lord Dalhousie made a final settlement of the liability of the Hyderabad State towards Imperial defence. The strength and duties of the Subsidiary Force were set forth, and as an auxiliary force, the “Hyderabad Contingent” was constituted. It was to consist of not less than 5,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and four field batteries of artillery. It was to be commanded by British officers, fully equipped and disciplined and controlled by the British Government through its representative, the Resident at Hyderabad. The services of the Contingent in time of peace were detailed, and in the event of war the Subsidiary Force, joined by the Contingent, was to be employed as the British Government might think fit, provided that two battalions of Sepoys were left near the capital of Hyderabad. Then followed the special agreement that ‘excepting the said Subsidiary and Contingent Forces, His Highness shall not, under any circumstances, be called upon to furnish any other troops whatsoever’. Thus this treaty is of considerable importance, as it finally fixed the military liabilities of Hyderabad. The Contingent ceased to be part of Nizam's army and became an auxiliary force kept up by the British Government for the Nizam's use.
BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE

In order to provide for the payment of this force, and for certain pensions and interest on the debt, the Nizam assigned certain territories called the Assigned Districts in Berar which were estimated to yield a gross revenue of fifty lakhs of rupees. It was also agreed that accounts should be annually rendered to the Nizam, and that any surplus revenue which might accrue should be paid to him. Nothing contributed so much to the later strained relations between the Nizam and the British Government as this arrangement regarding the Assigned Districts in Berar. The provisions of the treaty of 1853 which required the submission of annual accounts of the Assigned Districts to the Nizam were productive of inconvenience and embarrassing discussions. As a reward for the loyalty of the Nizam during the Mutiny of 1857 a new treaty was made in December, 1860. By this the debt of Rs. 50 lakhs due by the Nizam was cancelled and certain territories were restored to him. The Nizam agreed that the Assigned Districts in Berar should be held in trust by the British Government for the purposes specified in the treaty of 1853, but that no demand for accounts of the receipts or expenditure of the districts should be made.²¹

The relations of the British Government with the Nizam did not suffer any change after the assumption of the Government of India by the British Crown. It can be understood if we bear in mind the principles explained by Sir Henry Maine in his minute dated 22 March, 1864:—“The mode or degree in which sovereignty is distributed between the British Government and any given Native State is always a question of fact, which has to be separately decided in each case, and to which no general rules apply”. On account of its size, resources and historic position, the Hyderabad State enjoyed a fairly large amount of independence. Thus Sir George Yule, the Resident at Hyderabad, explained in his letter to the Viceroy:—“There is but one mode of securing an efficient administration here, and that by an able, honest, and powerful Minister, governing in the name of his master, but according to his own views modified, so far as may be, by the advice of the Resident. The Resident must be and must appear to be, an adviser, except in case of emergency such as this; if it is otherwise, if the Resident forces on the Minister his own views as to measures, or interferes in details, he takes away responsibility from the Minister, lowers his self-respect and his influence with the people, and the measures he enforces are never carried out practically”.²² But in actual practice the Political Department was all-powerful. Its influence was all-pervasive. The Nizam enjoyed only ‘limited sovereignty’. A careful study of the official records of the Government of India shows that it was
as true of Hyderabad as of other States that "the whisper of the Residency is the thunder of the State". This may be illustrated by a few concrete examples.

1. The Nizam had not full powers of selecting and dismissing his ministers. In 1867, when the differences between the Nizam and his Minister, Sir Salar Jang, became acute, and the latter resigned from his office, the Viceroy wrote in his Khureeta to the Nizam, dated 4 April, 1867:23 "The British Government regard with high satisfaction the many and great reforms which under Your Highness's Government have been introduced into every department of the administration. But if Your Highness were to dispense with the aid of Salar Jang, and if (as I am assured Your Highness is yourself so persuaded) there were no one else at the present moment qualified efficiently to supply his place, then without doubt the country would relapse into the state of misrule and confusion, from which it has so recently been rescued, and however reluctant, the British Government (whose surrounding districts would suffer from disorder in Hyderabad) might be forced to interpose its authority in a manner that could not but be highly distasteful to Your Highness. The British Government deprecate equally with Your Highness any such contingency. And therefore, my friend, I counsel you to give a full and hearty confidence to your wise and faithful Minister: and henceforth to avoid any action which would detract from his authority in the eyes of Your Highness's subjects and tend to weaken his administration". The result of this veiled threat of interference was that Sir Salar Jang was reinstated in his former office.

2. In 1866 the Government of India invited the opinion of the Residents of the various States on the rules for enforcing the responsibility of Native States for mail robberies committed within their territories by the infliction of fines—the minimum penalty being Rs. 500 or Rs. 500 over and above the value of the property plundered. Mr. G. U. Yule, the Resident at Hyderabad, expressed his opinion that the infliction of a fine upon the Hyderabad State because of the occurrence of a mail robbery would be degrading to it, and felt deeply to be so, while as a preventive measure it would not have any effect. "We dare not inflict fines that would be felt. The world would cry out against extortion. We dare only levy petty fines, the very pettiness of which adds to the degradation". Mr. Yule was definitely of the opinion that the suggestion to levy fines would not lead to any improvement. "If we wish improvement in a State, we cannot get it by forcing on measures which neither the Ruler, nor his Minister nor his People understand to be improvement: we must carry
some one of the three with us, and we can do so only by convincing them that we advocate it because we believe it to be so and we must make ample allowances for differences in modes of administration. Native States may be excused for not thinking our systems and measures the best possible: and even if they did so think, there are many reasons why they could not carry them out as we are able to do: and, above all, it must not be forgotten that we are often to blame for the inefficiency of the Native Government. Our superiority crushes all life out of the Ruler and his nobles, whose ideas cannot change so fast as their circumstances. We have spurred Native Governments here and whipped them there: but neither whipping nor spurring ever put a horse in condition, and we have always been trying to get money, or land, or power of some kind from them. We must, therefore, in justice, make allowances if their administrative arrangements are not so good as ours, and we cannot stop mail robberies in our own territories."\textsuperscript{24} In spite of this weighty protest, the Government enforced the regulations in Hyderabad.

3. In 1867 the Government of India laid down general instructions for the guidance of British representatives in Native States:—

"There is, I am to remark, no more important part of Political Officers' functions than to keep a watchful eye on the military organization of the State to which he is accredited, with a view to quietly checking and promptly reporting to his Government, any instance of excessive armament. Frequent examples might be quoted of the proper fulfilment of this obligation in the States of Hyderabad, Gwalior, Bhopal, etc., but it will suffice for me to refer to the plain principle which underlies the rule. The same reasons of policy which have induced us to all but abolish Native Artillery in the British Army, and which make us hesitate to arm our sepoys with the Enfield Rifles, surely demand as an essential complement to these precautions, that we should not allow our Native allies unlimited access to the most efficient arms which our English soldiers can bring to the field."\textsuperscript{25} Thus the British Government followed the same policy in Hyderabad as in other Native States, namely, that the armed force of Native States should not exceed the requirements of the State for maintaining internal order.

4. The Nizam was not permitted to enter into any direct relations with foreign powers. In 1874 when Hyderabad's Minister, Sir Salar Jang, employed Mr. Keay for raising funds in England for the construction of the Nizam's State Railway, the Government of India objected to the transaction and wrote to the Secretary of State for India:—"We beg to point out that any operation effected in the European money-market under the guidance of the Nizam constitutes
a direct dealing between a Native State and European Capitalists...
... The Nizam will be in direct relation with European Capitalists... and that relation is likely to lead to embarrassing political consequences... Your Lordship is aware that it has from the beginning of our Indian Empire been a cardinal point of our policy to prohibit Native States from entering into any direct relations with foreign powers. But the establishment of direct relations with foreign money markets goes a long way towards the admission of direct relations with foreign Governments, and it is therefore part of our policy to prevent such relations with foreign money markets".26

5. With the death of Sir Salar Jang, the able minister of Hyderabad, in February 1883, Lord Ripon decided to have more influence in Hyderabad. Instead of increasing the formal powers of the Resident, he appointed Salar Jang’s son, Mir Laik Ali, as Minister, and established a Consultative Council of Regency till 5 February, 1884, when the Nizam was vested with full powers of administration. Thereafter a majority in the Viceroy’s Council desired to appoint a senior man as Diwan, Laik Ali being only twenty-one. The Resident also pointed out that if the Nizam were placed in Laik Ali’s hands, ‘it would be in a short time fatal to both’. It would seem, therefore, that Laik Ali lacked ‘the necessary qualifications’ which Ripon had insisted in the case of Mysore, but in the case of Hyderabad he said that he preferred to carry out the Nizam’s wishes, and Laik Ali’s appointment as Diwan was sanctioned. The real reason, however, is revealed by Bayley, the Viceroy’s chief adviser on Hyderabad affairs, who urged that while the Resident could check or undo the hasty actions of well-meaning but impulsive youth, he would be powerless if a senior Diwan were appointed. Laik Ali knew to whom he owed his appointment, and leant on the Resident for support. He met Ripon at Calcutta on the eve of the Viceroy’s departure, promised not to raise the Berar question in the near future, and agreed to consult the Resident personally on all matters of importance, and to maintain constant direct communication with him. “In Hyderabad, no less than in Mysore and Baroda, while youth was at the helm, the steering was done from Simla”.27

The Assigned Districts in Berar constituted a cause of friction between the British Government and the Nizam for forty years, and remained an open sore until 1902, when Lord Curzon came to an agreement with the Nizam which satisfactorily solved the problem. It was not possible to hand back the province to the Nizam, for the people of these Assigned Districts, who had enjoyed the benefits of
better administration, were opposed to this policy. The alternative expedient was the arrangement by which the British Government took lease of Berar in perpetuity at an annual rent of £168,000. The Nizam’s sovereignty over Berar was reaffirmed, and his flag was to be flown at Amraoti, the capital of the province, on his birthday. The Hyderabad Contingent was fully incorporated in the Imperial Army, and released from the necessity of remaining in the Hyderabad dominions. The Nizam at the same time agreed to effect large reductions in his excessive and unnecessary irregular army. The Hyderabad State was heavily in debt to the British Government, and part of the rent was to be devoted towards liquidating these liabilities. The Nizam was to receive, as before, an annual income from Berar—the Berar ‘Surplus’.28

2. Baroda

The Gaekwar of Baroda had concluded a Subsidiary Alliance with the British in 1802, and the relation between them was further regulated by the treaties of 1805 and 1817.

The chief provisions of the Treaty of 1817 were an increase of the Subsidiary Force; the cession to the British Government of all the rights which the Gaekwar had acquired by the farming of the Peshwa’s territories in Gujarat; the consolidation of the territories of the British Government and the Gaekwar in Gujarat by exchange of certain districts; the co-operation of the Gaekwar’s troops with those of the British Government in times of war; and the mutual surrender of criminals. It is important to emphasize that by this treaty additions were made to the Subsidiary Force, and the Gaekwar agreed “in case of war to bring forward the whole of his resources for the prosecution of the war”, and to maintain an effective contingent of 3,000 horse at his own cost to act with the Subsidiary Force when needed.

When Anand Rao died on 2 October, 1819, and was succeeded by his brother, Sayaji Rao II, the British policy towards Baroda changed a good deal. The British Government had by that time emerged as the dominant power in India and therefore could afford to relax the close control over the affairs of the Gaekwar. Therefore, on the accession of Sayaji Rao, the British Government decided to abstain from the minute interference which it had hitherto exercised in the internal affairs of the Baroda State, provided that the Gaekwar respected the British guarantee given to bankers, Ministers and other individuals in his State. This arrangement was the outcome of a visit by the Governor of Bombay, Mountstuart Elphin-
stone, to Baroda in 1820. He held several conferences with Sayaji and finally both parties agreed to the following conditions:—

(1) All foreign forces should remain, as before, under the exclusive management of the British Government.

(2) The Gaekwar should have the unrestrained management of his internal forces provided he fulfilled the arrangements, guaranteed by the British Government, with the bankers. The Resident, moreover, was to be made acquainted with the financial plan of the year, to have access to the accounts, and to be consulted regarding any new plan of large expenditure.

(3) The Gaekwar should observe scrupulously the guarantees of the British Government to Ministers and other individuals.

(4) The Gaekwar might choose his own Ministers on condition of consulting the Resident before nominating them.

(5) The British Government should retain the power of offering advice.

Circumstances, however, forced the British Government to intervene again in the affairs of the Baroda State as the Gaekwar failed to pay regularly the instalments due on his debts which, in 1820, had increased to upward of Rs. 107 lakhs. To remedy this state of affairs, Sir John Malcolm, successor of Elphinstone as Governor of Bombay, took effective measure by sequestrating territories of the State. The first sequestration took place in 1828 and the second in 1830, the latter being, however, disapproved by the Court of Directors. The breach between the two Governments became wide, with the result that the office of the Resident at Baroda was abolished as a separate appointment in 1830, and it was only after five years that it was re-established. Lord Clare, the successor of Sir John Malcolm, visited Baroda in 1832 and arrived at a settlement with Gaekwar. The British Government was released by the bankers from its guarantee on their coming to a satisfactory understanding with the Gaekwar for the adjustment of the debts. The sequestrated districts were restored to the Gaekwar on his depositing Rs. 10 lakhs with the British Government to provide for the pay of the cavalry in case his own payment should fail. This conciliatory policy, however, proved to be shortlived. There was a dispute concerning the efficiency of a body of 3,000 cavalry which the Gaekwar maintained to support the Subsidiary Force. The dispute was settled by an Agreement in 1841 which renewed the Treaty of 1817 and provided for a payment of Rs. 3,00,000 for the Gujarat Irregular Horse (a body of cavalry organized by the British); for the maintenance of the contingent of 3,000 horse by the Gaekwar and for its em-
ployment in the tributary districts, the Gaekwar being permitted at any time to reduce the number so employed to 1,500 men.29

In December, 1847, Sayaji Rao died and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ganpat Rao. Ganpat Rao died in November, 1856, and was succeeded by his brother Khande Rao. In 1858, as a reward for the Gaekwar's service during the period of the Mutiny, the payment of Rs. 3 lakhs for the Gujarat Irregular Horse, provided by the Agreement of 1841, was remitted; but at the same time the permission given to the Gaekwar to reduce the contingent to 1,500 men was cancelled, and the contingent was put on the same footing as that described in the 8th Article of the Treaty of 1817, with the additional provision that it should do ordinary police duty in the tributary districts.

The Gaekwar tried to assert his power of selecting and dismissing Ministers without consulting the British Government. In 1854 he had been compelled to dismiss a favourite Minister on the advice of the British Government. In 1867 he decided to remove his Minister, Diwan Govind Rao, and appointed a favourite who had for years held the post of Commander-in-Chief. The Acting Resident at Baroda sought instructions from the Bombay Government regarding the right claimed by the Gaekwar to appoint a Minister without reference to the British Government. In referring the matter to the Supreme Government, the Bombay authorities explained that although there was no specific treaty obligation on the part of the Gaekwar to submit to Government for approval the name of anyone he wished to appoint as Diwan, yet in practice the right of the Government to require this of the Gaekwar had been maintained, and, when not pressed, had been waived as a special favour. The Bombay authorities, however, recommended that no useful purpose would be served by insisting on the maintenance of this practice as it was "certainly derogatory to the Gaekwar". The latter was responsible to the British Government for the good governance of his territories. Therefore they should do nothing "to thwart him in the selection of the agency employed". If the British Government approved and the selected officer turned out to be a failure, responsibility would be shared by them, and if the Gaekwar's nominee was rejected and another appointed and proved a failure, they would receive the whole odium. Hence the Gaekwar should be allowed "perfect freedom of choice". In recommending this concession, the Bombay authorities, however, wanted to obtain an equivalent concession from the Gaekwar, i.e., in matters referred to him by the British Government, the Gaekwar should "meet the Resident in the same conciliatory and liberal spirit, instead of displaying a de-
sire to obstruct improvement, or evade compliance with reasonable requests, as has not infrequently been observed of late years."

The Supreme Government accepted these recommendations. But Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State for India, was not prepared to go to the length of waiving the right of the Government to have a voice in the selection of a Minister, arguing that the question whether "the British Government should interpose its authority, in the event of the appointment of doubtful competency being persisted in", was one of policy "depending in a great measure on the degree of confidence to which the reigning Prince may be entitled", and should be dealt with according to the circumstances at that time.

The relations between the Gaekwar and the British Government were thus strained. Matters came to a crisis in 1870 when Khande Rao was succeeded by Malhar Rao. As the condition of the Baroda State had long been an object of great anxiety to the Bombay Government, they decided to send to the Baroda court a Resident who should exercise more energetic influence. Col. Phayre was appointed Resident in March, 1873. He brought to the notice of the Bombay Government the maladministration in the State. The Government of India appointed a Commission of Inquiry to report on the facts. While Col. Phayre's representations had been unrestrained, the report of the Commission was of a moderate type. Great stress was laid on the fact that no unnecessary interference with the details of the government of the State was contemplated and all individual grievances were to be referred to the Maharaja. Nevertheless, after acquitting the Durbar of any notable ill treatment of British subjects, the Commission found that Col. Phayre's charge of general misgovernment was proved. On receipt of their report, the Gaekwar was warned that if certain reforms were not carried out, he would be relieved of his authority. Later, as mentioned above, the Gaekwar was charged with a serious offence—the attempt to poison the Resident, and was deposed. A boy was selected by the Government and adopted by the Maharani, and during his prolonged minority the administration was conducted under the direct control of the Resident by a large staff of British officials.

After attaining majority, the young Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar III distinguished himself as an able and enlightened ruler and passed a number of liberal measures concerning education and social reform, which were far in advance even of British India. During his long and prosperous rule, Baroda made remarkable progress, and the efficiency of administration was highly improved by the adoption of the British principles.
3. **Gwalior**

Reference has been made above to the gradual stages by which Daulat Rao Sindhiya of Gwalior was reduced to the position of a subordinate ally and coerced to accept, on the eve of the Third Maratha War, the treaty of the 5th November, 1817, by which he agreed to locate his troops in positions from which they were not to emerge without the orders of the British Government; to give up the fortress of Asirgarh and Hindia as security for the lines of communication; to give a guarantee for the performance of his engagements and to surrender for three years the tribute of the Rajput States. Shortly after this a new treaty was made on the 25th June, 1818, readjusting the boundaries of his dominions with those of the English. Sindhiya received Ajmer and other districts in exchange for lands of equal value. In 1819 Sindhiya ceded permanently the fortress of Asirgarh to the English.

Events following the death of Daulat Rao Sindhiya, culminating in the British invasion and the conclusion of a treaty in 1844 have been described in detail in Chapter IX and need not be repeated here. By this treaty the sovereignty of the State was retained for Sindhiya. The Government during the minority of Jayaji Rao, the adopted son of Jankoji, was to be conducted according to the advice of the British Resident; the British Government pledged itself to maintain the just territorial rights of Gwalior; a territory yielding 18 lakhs of rupees a year was to be ceded to the British Government for maintaining a Contingent Force; the debts due and the expense of war were to be paid; and the army was to be reduced to 6,000 cavalry, 3,000 infantry and 200 gunners with 32 guns. This arrangement ensured peace and an improved administrative system. From 1844 to 1857 Gwalior enjoyed peace and prosperity.

Jayaji Rao Sindhiya remained loyal to the British Government during the Mutiny of 1857, and actively helped the British Government. As a reward for his services a new treaty was made on 12 December, 1860, by which lands were restored to Sindhiya yielding 3 lakhs of rupees a year, and the exchange of lands he desired for other lands of nearly equal value was arranged with the British Government. He received a sanad conferring upon him the right of adoption and permission to raise his infantry from 3,000 to 5,000 men, and his guns from 30 to 36. In place of the Contingent the British Government agreed to maintain a Subsidiary Force.

Although the British Government were considerate in their dealings with the Sindhiyas, they maintained their control over the foreign policy and the armed forces of the State. On these two questions there could be no relaxation from the general policy to
be followed towards the Native States of India. One example may be cited of this policy. The request of Sindhia for police battalions “for the police and revenue matters of the interior” had been agreed to by the Government in May, 1856, on the understanding that “they were to constitute a police and not a military force”. Apprehensions of Major Meade, Governor-General’s Agent to Central Indian States, were roused in April, 1866, when, on inspecting one of the police battalions, he found it so well drilled as to be fit to take its place in line with the regular army. In reporting this Meade drew particular attention of the Government to the Maharaja’s character: “The Maharaja’s passion from his youth had been essentially military so far as the term can be applied to dressing, equipping, and drilling his troops and in fact ‘playing at soldiers’”. The Government ordered Meade to adopt measures for breaking up the Njeebs (police) as a military force and dispersing a portion of the regular army of the State, which was concentrated at the capital. He also directed Sindhia not to maintain at Gwalior more than one-half to two-thirds of his regular army, and to canton the remainder in different parts of the country.

The British Government also did not allow much latitude to Sindhia in claiming exemptions from administrative measures which were considered necessary by the Government of India. Thus in 1866 certain rules were sanctioned by the Government of India for enforcing the responsibility of Indian States for mail robberies committed within their territories. Sindhia asked for special exemption from the operation of these rules on grounds of comparative excellence of his police arrangements; but the request was turned down and he was informed that it rested with him, by still further improving his police, to avoid the chance of being affected by the penalties laid down in the rules.34

After the capture of Gwalior by the force under Sir Hugh Rose in 1858, British troops continued to occupy the fort of Gwalior. During the negotiations which ended in the treaty of 1860, Lord Canning promised that the fort would be restored to Sindhia when this could be done with safety; and this promise was repeated by Lord Elgin. Its fulfilment depended on the withdrawal of a British force from Morar to some more eligible station. It was, however, decided in 1864 that the cantonment of Morar should be maintained; and this necessitated the continued occupation of the Gwalior fort by British troops. The actual evacuation of Gwalior and Morar by the British troops took place on 10 March, 1886, and on the same day the town and fort of Jhansi were made over to the British by the Gwalior authorities.
4. Mysore

Reference has been made above to the dethronement of the Maharaja of Mysore by Lord Bentinck in 1831. The British assumed the direct management of the State, subject to the claim of the Maharaja, reserved by the treaty, to a provision of one lakh of Star Pagodas a year and one-fourth of the net revenue realized from the treasury. The British Government was to administer the State until arrangements for the good government of the country should be so firmly established as to secure it from future disturbances. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, visited Mysore and an agreement was made by which the districts of Nagar, Chitaldrug, and Bangalore were ceded to the British Government to meet the financial claims of the Government of India on the Maharaja. The Government was carried on by "British Commissioners for the government of the territories of Mysore." At first there was a Board of two Commissioners with a Resident attached, as before, to the Court of the Maharaja. It was, however, almost immediately found necessary to substitute for the Board a single Commissioner; and in 1843, the post of Resident was abolished. The British policy towards the native States of India can be clearly understood by its attitude towards Mysore. The instructions of the Governor-General to the Madras Government on the first assumption of the administration were to the effect that "the agency under the Commissioners should be exclusively native; indeed, that the existing native institutions should be clearly maintained". These instructions were as far as possible adhered to in the early days of the Commission, but in course of time it was alleged that the Mysore Government was rotten to the core, that the powers of the various departments of courts were ill-defined and involved endless appeals, and that the evils inherent in this state of things lay too deep to be removed by one Commissioner aided by the existing native agency. It was therefore decided to substitute 4 European Superintendents for the native Faujdars. The "Huzur Adalat", composed of native judges, was at first allowed to remain the highest judicial authority in the State though its sentences were made subject to the confirmation by the Commissioner. But not long afterwards a Judicial Commissioner was substituted for it. This is one instance of the control exercised by the British officers in the judicial department. Other departments were also put under the control of the British officers.

At different times the Maharaja made applications for the restoration of his State. As noted above, Lord William Bentinck, who deposed the Maharaja in 1831, wrote to the Secret Committee of the
Court of Directors in 1834 that he was convinced by later inquiry that the deposition of the Maharaja was both illegal and unfair, and that the disposition of the Maharaja was "the reverse of tyrannical or cruel". Nevertheless, the appeal of the Maharaja was refused both by the Government of India and the Home authorities. The application made in February, 1861, was rejected by Lord Canning on March 18, 1862. The Maharaja appealed to the British Government again in 1862. The British Government informed the Maharaja that he could not as a right claim the restoration of the State and that the reinstatement of the Maharaja in the administration of the country was incompatible with the true interests of the people of Mysore. On this final decision being communicated in February, 1864, the Maharaja requested the Government to permit him to adopt a son. This request was refused on the ground that no authority to adopt a successor to the State of Mysore had ever been given to him and that no such power could now be considered. In June, 1865, the Maharaja adopted a child, and in April, 1867, the British Government at last agreed to recognize this adoption. The Government proceeded even further, and, on the death of the Maharaja in 1868, decided to restore the kingdom to the adopted son when he came of age, provided he was found qualified for the position. The adopted son came of age in 1881 when the question of the rendition of Mysore State came up for the decision of the British Government.

Lord Ripon, the Viceroy of India, was a man of liberal views, and justly decided in favour of the rendition of the Mysore State. In restoring the territories to the Maharaja, Lord Ripon could not forget that for about 50 years the Government of India had directly administered the State. This was a fairly long period of British rule. Its implications were threefold: (1) The long interregnum of 50 years would imply that the restoration of territories would be virtually a fresh gift of territories and not merely the termination of a temporary period of British administration. (2) Previous treaties were no longer valid and a new treaty should embody fresh rights and obligations. (3) For 50 years the British officials had worked hard to improve the administration of the State. Justice had been improved, law and order had been established, and the administration on the whole had shown considerable improvement. It was necessary that this administrative progress must not be checked. Hence there was need of curtailing the Maharaja's authority and of widening the scope of interference by the Government of India in the internal affairs of the State. The Instrument of Transfer, which was essentially the handiwork of Ripon, shows the impress of these
ideas. It drastically curtailed the authority of the Maharaja and his successors, and emphasized that they would hold these territories as long as they fulfilled the conditions laid down in it. The first and essential condition was that of loyalty to the British Government. The Maharaja was required to remain at all times faithful in allegiance and subordination to the Queen. Some of the important clauses of the treaty referred to the military forces of the State. These forces were not to exceed the limit to be fixed from time to time by the Governor-General in Council. The permission of the Government was required for the construction of new fortresses and the repair of old ones. The Maharaja was not to object to the establishment of cantonments by the British Government. Restrictions on the import of arms, ammunition or military stores were to be laid down according to the policy of the Government of India. The Maharaja was to have no external relations except with the previous sanction and through the medium of the Government of India. The Maharaja was to afford all facilities for railways and telegraphs and also to adopt the coinage of British India. The permission of the Government was necessary for the employment of any person, not “a native of India”. The Maharaja was to comply with the wishes of the Governor-General in Council in the matter of prohibiting or limiting the manufacture of salt and opium. The most important clauses of the Treaty were those for ensuring good government. The Maharaja was to maintain all laws (and rules having the force of law) already in force. No material change in the system of administration (as established at the time of his accession to power) was to be made without the consent of the Government of India. All title-deeds granted and all settlements of land revenue made during the British administration of the State were to be maintained. The Maharaja was to conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council might offer to him with a view to the improvement of his administration. In case the Maharaja did not fulfil these conditions, it would lead to resumption or other arrangements for the administration of the State. In all these matters the decision of the Governor-General in Council was to be final.

1. CHI, VI. 491.
2a. See above, p. 667.
3. "Before the Mutiny the British had not assumed that they were the paramount power exercising suzerainty over the whole of India. Thus the President of the Board of Control wrote to Dalhousie on May 9, 1854, that in cases of succession to an independent sovereignty where no question of lapse was raised, he preferred the selection of a competent ruler to an adoption."
INDIAN STATES

"Lord Dalhousie wrote on the 25th of June, 1854: 'I repeat that a Hindu principality, such as Tehri, not tributary nor subordinate, and not having the British Government as its paramount in the technical sense, has a perfect right to regulate its own succession; and the Government of India has no more right to interfere with it than it has to meddle with the succession of France.'

"No one hears today of the 'independence' of Native States or compares the protected semi-sovereignties of India to the nation of France. The division between dependent and independent States, or between subordinate, tributary, and non-subordinate chiefships has been swept away" (Warner, II. 154-5).

4. See above, p. 54.
5. See above, p. 58.
7. Letter to Queen Victoria in November, 1875.
8. Despatch No. 69 of 3 June, 1875.
10a. The author of this section has dealt with the topics covered by it more fully, and with full reference, in his books, specially the two following:
1. Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States.
2. Introduction to the study of the relations of Indian States with the Government of India.

11. See p. 86.
13. See p. 447.
13a. See pp. 27 ff.
14. Cf. the cases of Chandulal in Hyderabad (p. 88) and of Mama Sahib in Gwalior (p. 224).
15. See p. 728.
15a. Cf. Chapters III and IV.
17. See pp. 757 ff; 770 ff.
17a. The Editor is responsible for this paragraph.
19. See pp. 84 ff.
24. Resident of Hyderabad to the Government of India, 26 October, 1865 (Foreign-General Progs, July, 1866, No. 37).
26. Foreign General Progs, No. 67, September, 1875.
29. For the texts of the treaties and engagements referred to above, cf. Aitchison.
30. See p. 966.
32. Cf. Vol. VIII.
33. See pp. 492, 582, 584.
34. See pp. 987-8.
35. See pp. 37-41.
37. The date of the Maharaja's death and the decision of the Government, as stated on p. 41, lines 28-9, should be corrected in the light of this sentence. (Ed.)
38. As suggested above, on p. 967, the reaction to the deposition of the Gaekwar probably influenced this decision to some extent. (Ed.)
CHAPTER XXXI

NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER

The conquest of Sindh in 1843 and of the Punjab in 1849 brought the Government of India in direct contact with the hilly territories, stretching up to the border of Afghanistan, and inhabited by a large number of autonomous clans of Baluch tribes in the south and principally of Pathan tribes in the north. The Amir of Afghanistan, to whom they were attached by ties of religion and language, claimed a nominal suzerainty over some of them, but in reality they exercised independent authority within their secluded, and almost inaccessible, hills and dales. There were quite a large number of big tribes, each of whom was again sub-divided into a number of clans, and these had mostly a loose type of democratic political organization,—the jirga or the assembly of the adult males being the supreme controlling authority.

The nature of these people was largely formed by the geographical and economic condition of the country. Sturdy and fierce from the rigour of climate and nature of soil, they brooked no control over them and loved independence above everything else. Unfortunately, their economic condition made it almost impossible for them to respect the independence of others or even to cherish human instincts for the sanctity of the life and property of their neighbours. The hills were barren and almost waterless, and it is a common saying among these tribes that when God created the world He dumped the rubbish on the frontier. But the same God placed before the eyes of these hungry people rich and fertile plains and villages below with routes for caravans of trade. It would indeed be a miracle if the hardy tribesmen were not tempted to supply by their own effort what nature so niggardly denied to them. So, from time immemorial, these hillmen carried on plundering raids on the neighbouring districts, stealing the flock, robbing the caravans, and murdering and plundering dwellers on the plains. These became fat and indolent by the clemencies of nature and were no match for the hardy tribesmen whom their native hills had endowed with courage, endurance, and military skill, and who never felt any compunction for any cruelty inflicted upon others for gaining their own ends.

This constituted the Frontier Problem, and the Government of India was faced with the grave and difficult task of dealing with
ferocious and unscrupulous freebooters who frequently indulged in mass raids for plunder inside the British territories. In 1846, about 1500 of them marched across the British frontier of Sindh, stayed there for twenty-four hours, and returned to their hills, seventy-five miles away, with 15,000 heads of cattle. These wild tribes were also guilty of other crimes. Sir Richard Temple, who had intimate experience of the Pathan tribes, accuses them “of giving asylum to fugitives from justice, of violating British territory, of blackmail and intrigue, of minor robberies, and of isolated murders of British subjects”.¹

The turbulence of these tribes did not begin with the rule of the British. Their predecessors, the Sikhs, had to adopt stern measures to control them, and it is even said that under Sikh rule some villages near Peshawar “were actually held by a yearly tribute of so many human heads taken from their neighbours across the border.”²

The British tried to grapple with the problem in two different ways. In Sindh, Sir Charles Napier built forts, posted detachments of troops at certain points, and occasionally led expeditions against the tribes. But these measures did not prove effective. Next, Major John Jacob adopted the method of vigilant patrolling. Sir Robert Sandeman adopted a more conciliatory policy. He kept himself in constant and intimate touch with the tribes by visiting their territories. He also introduced the system of granting allowances to tribesmen for maintaining peace, guarding trade-routes and passes, and meting out justice according to the decision of the tribal jirga (assembly). This has been criticized as paying blackmail, but it worked very successfully among the Baluch tribes who always recognized a tribal organization and obeyed their chiefs who were powerful enough to control them.

The tribes, who lived beyond the frontiers of the Punjab, mostly Pathans, were made of different stuff. They had democratic spirit and organization, in which each man claimed equality with another and, being prone to act for himself, could ill brook the control of the jirga or Council of headmen. They were more fanatic than the Baluchis and apt to be easily excited by the Mullahs or tribal priests. Fierce and blood-thirsty, they were extremely avaricious, capable of doing any crime for the sake of plunder. The measures successfully adopted in Sindh proved ineffective in the Punjab, and Dalhousie was faced with the grave problem of dealing with the Pathan tribes immediately after the annexation of the Punjab. He adopted conciliatory measures and tried to win over the tribesmen by offering them peaceful pursuits. He also established a series of fortified
posts to check their raids. But these measures proved unsuccessful. In 1851 Mr. Carne, the head of the customs department, and his assistant, Mr. Tupp, were murdered by a party of Hassan Zais in the estate of the Khan of Amb. Dalhousie called upon him to punish the murderers whereupon the Khan seized some of the offenders and sent them as hostages to the British. This was a signal for a general rising of the tribesmen who seized two forts of the Khan and reduced him to considerable straits. A British force of 3800 men was sent in December, 1852, who destroyed several villages. The Mohmands proved equally troublesome. They committed frequent raids on British villages, seized sentries on outpost-duty, and even murdered British subjects in the cantonments at Peshawar. On October 25, 1851, Sir Colin Campbell undertook a long series of operations. A fort was erected at Michni and several Mohmand forts were destroyed. But these proved ineffective, as Lieutenant Boulnois was murdered while riding out peacefully beyond the works at Michni. Accordingly, a more severe penalty was inflicted by another expedition in April, 1852. Even this proved insufficient, and a third expedition was sent in 1854. During the period 1851 to 1856 Dalhousie punished ten tribes in addition to those mentioned above.

These harsh punitive measures did not commend themselves even to the military. In 1852 Sir Colin Campbell was unwilling to furnish troops against the Swat tribesmen, and was rebuked by Dalhousie as the General said his refusal was "based not on military grounds but on his own doubt as to the justice of the political considerations on which punitive operations were proposed." The Commander-in-Chief having supported Campbell, Dalhousie bluntly told them that neither of them "had any concern with the political aspect of the case." To prevent such conflict in future, definite powers were conferred upon the Board of Administration in the Punjab "to make requisitions for military assistance on the Commander-in-Chief, which his Excellency was told he was not competent to disregard except on purely military grounds."

Dalhousie's action was also severely condemned by a section of public opinion in England. The Times, in a leading article on February 3, 1852, attributed the action of Dalhousie to "an insatiable desire for conquest," and openly charged him with inflicting heavy punishment on the various frontier tribes "upon pleas of provocation." The article concluded with the following observation: "It seems impossible that anything can be gained by such measures. If we pushed our posts to the very centre of Tartary, our neighbours would be robbers still, and why should we not make the best of
matters on our boundaries, instead of going to fight the same game 500 miles off". But the admonition of the Times had no effect. It is interesting to note how this humanitarian spirit in England rapidly passed away in course of half a century. "After the disappointment of half a century", writes an eminent English writer, "the school of thought represented by the critics of 1902 condemns the policy of the fifties not because it was too aggressive, but because it was too submissive".

The measures adopted by Dalhousie were ultimately crystallized in a definite policy, and the tribesmen on the border of the Punjab were kept down by three methods, namely, fines, blockades, and expeditions. Fines were imposed as a compensation for plunder and murder, but it was not always easy to realize them. In some cases hostages were seized and detained until fines were paid. Another effective means to control the tribes was to blockade all the approaches of their territory in such a manner that no ingress or egress was possible. But an effective blockade depended upon the geographical situation and the attitude of the surrounding tribes. The last method, adopted in case of continued depredations, was punitive expedition which, in practice, meant "an indiscriminate slaughter and destruction of crops and villages". It was regarded as both impolitic and immoral even by some of the highest British officials. Sir Bartle Frere condemned it, for it 'meant that the whole tribe was punished for the offences of a few malcontents, and the real result was to make a desert and call it peace'. Lord Lytton also severely condemned it, and the following lines from his minute, dated April 22, 1877, scathingly expose the immorality and inexpediency of the whole system: "I object to it because it perpetuates a system of semi-barbarous reprisal, and because we lower ourselves to the ideas of right and might common to our barbarous neighbours, rather than endeavour to raise them to our own ideas, because it seldom touches the guilty, and generally falls most heavily on the innocent; because its natural tendency is to perpetuate animosity rather than lead up to good relations; because, as a rule, it leaves no permanent mark......and it appears from the records of these expeditions, which are not always successes even in the most limited sense, that the losses suffered by ourselves often exceed the losses we inflict".

The punitive expedition was supported on the ground of absolute necessity and the precedent of the Sikh Government. It was also claimed that the authorities never took resort to it unless other measures failed or were not practicable, and when the crimes committed by the tribes were of such an enormous character that a
punitive expedition was absolutely essential for the protection of British subject and the maintenance of British prestige. It is, however, difficult to believe that a weapon so handy was never used save in such an extreme emergency. Nor is it possible to disagree with a modern British historian that "this policy of butcher and bolt", as punitive expeditions have been contemptuously termed, will never produce any lasting effect.

It is stated by some authorities that no less than forty-two expeditions were undertaken by the British against the turbulent tribesmen between 1849 and 1890, causing a total of 2173 British casualties. But this evidently includes the military campaigns against the Wahabis in A.D. 1863 and thereabout, when they were supported by the Pathan tribes, as has been mentioned above.\(^9\) The severity of the struggle with the Wahabis is indicated by the fact that the British sustained 908 casualties in the year 1863 alone.

The conclusion of the Second Afghan War brought in a new phase in the relation between the British and the border hill tribes. The resurrection of the "Forward Policy"\(^9\) which led to that war, as mentioned above, had also its effect on the administrative policy towards the tribes. There was a deliberate attempt on the part of the Government of India to tighten the hold on the tribes. In Sindh, the British secured a firm footing in the heart of the tribal domains by the treaty with the Khan of Kalat, referred to above.\(^10\) This led to the foundation of the Baluchistan Agency under an Agent to the Governor-General with his headquarters at Quetta. Reference has been made above to the policy of Major Sandeman who was first appointed to this post on February 21, 1877. Sandeman relied for the success of his policy upon the complete domination of the Baluchis by British troops, who occupied strategic positions commanding the routes from Sindh, the border between the different tribes, and the way of their retreat to the west to seek shelter in Afghanistan. The gradual occupation of the Bori and Zhob valleys was a part of this plan of military domination. A military expedition in 1884 forced their chiefs to allow the location of British troops in these two valleys. Three years later, Bori and the adjoining tract were brought under the British administration in Baluchistan.

In 1889 Sandeman announced in the Durbar of the representatives of the tribes "that in future Zhob was to be looked upon as a British Protectorate". To safeguard the Gomal Pass three posts were established and the local tribes were granted usual allowances for the protection of the route.

In the Punjab, as in Sindh, the British attitude was purely defensive until the arrival of Lord Lytton. Owing to the nature of the
hilly region, the British officers held no intercourse with the tribes in their homes and kept aloof from these turbulent peoples so long as they did not disturb the peace of the British territories. In fact the frontier zone was a *terra incognita* which it was dangerous to traverse. But all this was slowly changed to a policy of active interference. Its first indication may be traced in making it compulsory for the British civil officers to learn the language of the border peoples. Gradually special officers, called Political Agents, were appointed to manage the tribes. The first Political Agent was appointed in Khyber during the Second Afghan War, and four more agencies were set up at Kurram, Malakand, Tochi, and Wana between 1892 and 1896. The efficiency of the border defence was also improved. On the recommendations of a Defence Committee which met at Peshawar in 1877, a regular defensive system, based on newly created bodies of border Police and Militia, was sanctioned in 1878. At the same time large colonies of the Pathan tribes were settled within British territory. A chain of forts was constructed along the frontier with good military roads parallel to it.

Before the conclusion of the Second Afghan War, the tribal peoples were mere pawns in a big game, and occupied a minor place in the grandiose schemes of the "Forward School", which looked upon the Hindu Kush mountains as the natural line of defence and sought to control effectively the whole of Afghanistan. When this ambition was shattered by the result of that war, attention was concentrated upon the tribal peoples who now constituted the first line of defence beyond the borders of India. This accounts for a feverish attempt to plant the British authority firmly over the western defensive zone.

The task proved to be comparatively easy in Baluchistan, as the ground was already prepared, and, it must be admitted, mainly because the natural obstacles provided by the hills were not so formidable as in the north. As noted above, Pishin and Sibi were retained by the British after the Second Afghan War. These were added to the agency territories, either acquired by lease or otherwise brought under British control, and placed under a Chief Commissioner. This area, together with the subordinate native States of Kalat and Las Bela, constituted British Baluchistan. During the eighties the whole of this region was developed by the construction of new roads and irrigation projects, and development of forest. Regular arrangements were made for the collection of land revenue and administration of justice, more or less on the old indigenous system. On the whole this southern zone was fast developing into a regularly constituted province as a part of British India.
The case was, however, different in the northern zone whose peoples proved less tractable because of the shelter of their inaccessible hills and dales. During the war with Afghanistan in 1878-79 many of the tribes had assumed turbulent attitude and created disturbances. A series of outrages by these hill tribes, and punitive military expeditions against them, marked the period between 1886 and 1893. More important among these were three expeditions against the Black Mountain tribes to the east of the Sindhu and north of Hazara district in 1888 and 1891, two against the Orakzais in 1891 and 1892, and a series of campaigns in Western Kashmir leading to the subjugation of Hunza and the occupation of Chitral to which reference will be made later. On the other hand, the Kurram valley was peacefully occupied at the invitation of the Turis who were Shiias and therefore hostile to the neighbouring Pathan tribes who were Sunnis. It was feared by the British that these tribes might be good instruments in the hands of the Amir for harassing the British, not only in case of war between the two, but even in times of peace. It was therefore felt that these tribes should be brought under effective control. But considerable uncertainty existed regarding the political status of these tribes, particularly in relation to the Amir and the British, and “the tribesmen constantly took advantage of this uncertainty, playing off the one against the other.”

For though these tribes were independent for all practical purposes, the Amir of Afghanistan claimed a sort of suzerainty over them. Any attempt to establish real control over them was therefore likely to create troubles with the Amir. In order to remove this difficulty a proposal was made to the Amir to delimit, and where possible to demarcate, the boundary of his kingdom on the east and south, as had already been done in the north. This boundary line would define the spheres of influence, respectively of the Amir and the British, and neither would interfere in any way with the tribes living on the other side of his boundary. This was agreed to by the Amir, though it must have caused a wrench in his heart, for after all these people were his kith and kin, speaking the same language and recognizing him as the head of their religion, and even the nominal acknowledgement of his suzerainty gave him a prestige in the eyes of his peoples. There is no doubt that the shrewd and intelligent Abdur Rahman, chastened in spirit by the two wars of Afghanistan with the British and the memory of his life as an exile in Russia, yielded to considerations of prudence. But his amour propre was wounded, and he looked upon the arrangement with gloomy forebodings. This finds a beautiful expression in the following passage of his letter to the Viceroy:
“If you should cut them out of my dominions they will neither be of any use to you nor to me. You will always be engaged in fighting or other trouble with them, and they will always go on plundering. As long as your Government is strong and in peace, you will be able to keep them quiet by a strong hand, but if at any time a foreign enemy appear on the borders of India, these frontier tribes will be your worst enemies.... In your cutting away from me these frontier tribes, who are people of my nationality and my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my subjects, and will make me weak and my weakness is injurious to your Government”.13

The real attitude of the Amir towards the delimitation and demarcation of frontier was well known to the Government of India, and it has been alleged that he carried on intrigues with some border tribes in order to establish his authority over them before the process of delimitation began. There is no positive evidence of this, but the Amir refused an invitation of Lord Lansdowne to visit him in India in order to discuss the matter. He also demurred to a visit of Lord Roberts to Kabul as the head of a mission to discuss the question. Next, a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand left Peshawar for Kabul, in October, 1893, with the avowed object of concluding a “boundary agreement with the Amir which should for ever settle the responsibilities of the Kabul Government as regards the outlying independent tribes on our border”.14 The mission was cordially received at Kabul, but it was not till after much persuasion from the British and procrastination and delay on the part of the Amir, that he at last signed the agreement in November, 1893. The increase of his subsidy by six lakhs of Rupees and the recognition of his right to import munitions of war were no doubt powerful factors weighing with the Amir, but it is curious to note that though he signed the agreement he refused to sign the maps which illustrated the boundary line fixed by it.15 This line was demarcated during 1894-96 after a detailed survey along the whole of the extensive boundary line with the exception of a small portion of the Khyber area, and was known as the Durand Line.

Far worse than that on the Amir was, however, the reaction of the delimitation on the tribes who, without their knowledge or consent, suddenly found themselves within the sphere of British power and influence, and beyond the pale of protection by the Amir of Kabul, whom they looked upon as their religious head and regarded as protector in times of need. They instinctively felt that the control of the British would be far more real and substantial than could ever be imposed by the Amir, even if he had chosen to do so. Besides, the artificial boundary line cut across ethnic ties, and peo-
ples belonging to the same tribe or clan found themselves on different sides of the border. These and other reasons created trouble and turmoil which occasionally led to serious tribal risings in the frontier, specially during the last fifteen years covered by this volume.

Before proceeding further with the history of the hill tribes, it is necessary to give a short account of those who occupied the territory between the Durand Line and the regular administrative boundary of the Punjab and Sindh in British India, and thus came within the sphere of British influence.

The Durand line starts from the Tagdumbash at the north-east corner of the Hindu Kush where it touches the Muztagh Range. Following the line of the Hindu Kush, in west-west-south direction, it goes by the Manda Pass, separating Chitral from Kaffiristan. Then running almost due south, it crosses the Kunar, and passes through Bajaur and the territory of the Mohmands till it reaches the Kabul river about 12 miles to the north of Landi Kotal.

Chitral is inhabited by a group of non-Pathan peoples speaking a language, which is different from Pushtu, the lingua franca of the Pathans, but is very closely related to the Iranian Ghelchah languages spoken by the peoples of the Pamirs and the Oxus living to the north of the Hindu Kush. The peoples belong to the Sunni sect of the Muslims, but have retained some of the old Hindu customs and beliefs such as the caste and worship of images.

To the south of Chitral lay the independent tracts of Dir, Swat, Bajaur, and Buner, inhabited by the descendants of two large Pathan tribes, the Khakhai and the Ghoria Khel, who had migrated from Kabul, via Jalalabad, and expelled the original inhabitants. The Yusafzais and the Mohmands are the principal representatives of the two original tribes who were divided, in course of time, into a number of clans.

To the south of the Kabul river lies the tract of land known as Tirah. In the northern part of it, as well as round the Khyber, dwell the Afridis, who speak Pushtu and are Sunni Muslims, but contain a large racial element already settled in this region long before it was occupied by the Afghan invaders. In the southern valleys live a number of heterogeneous tribes who are known collectively as the Orakzais or 'lost tribes'. To the west of Tirah, in the Kurram valley, live the Turis who speak Pushtu but are Shiah Muslims, and claim to have migrated from Persia. Between the Kurram and the Gomal rivers lies Waziristan, ‘an intricate maze of mountains and valleys,’ often referred to as frontier Switzerland. In the heart of this region live the Mahsuds, almost surrounded by
the Darvesh Khels. These two tribes, collectively known as Waziris, claim to be Pathans, but are supposed by some to be of Rajput extraction. To the east of Waziristan, along the Sindhu from Bannu to the Peshawar district, live the Khattaks, “the most favourable specimens of Pathans on the whole frontier.” Dera Ismail Khan, to the south of Waziristan, is peopled by the Jats and Pathans, who form respectively about two-thirds and one-third of the total population.\textsuperscript{16}

The troubles with the frontier tribes, as noted above, became more acute by the ‘Forward Policy’ of Lord Lytton. In view of Russian activity in Central Asia he sought to bring under effective control the passes of the Hindu Kush from the eastern border of Afghanistan to the north-western boundary of Kashmir. So, on his advice, the Maharaja of Kashmir tried to extend his suzerainty over Chitral as well as Mastuj and Yasin, which lie between it and Gilgit. As the Chitralis were not Pathans and disliked the Amir of Afghanistan, the Mehtar (ruler) of Chitral, Aman-ul-mulk, acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir in return for a subsidy of Rs. 12,000. Lytton warned the Amir that “any interference in the affairs of Bajaur, Swat, Dir, or Chitral would be regarded as an unfriendly act towards the Government of India.” Lord Lytton also sent an Agent to Gilgit in order to establish British authority over the neighbouring tribes. As no fruitful result ensued, the Agent was recalled, but the agency was re-established by Lansdowne in 1889.\textsuperscript{17}

Soon troubles arose in Hunza and Nagar, two petty States divided by the Hunza river, over both of which China claimed a vague suzerainty. These are situated at the junction of the Hindu Kush and Muztagh Ranges, and surrounded on all sides by high hills, rising occasionally to 20,000 ft. above the sea-level. They acquired importance in the British defensive system because a very difficult caravan route connected them with the Pamirs and the Yarkand valley. They nominally acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir, on payment of an allowance, and agreed, in 1889, to accept the control of the Political Agent of Gilgit in return for an additional annual subsidy. But when the British commenced to erect a fort in Chalt and decided to connect it by a good military road with Gilgit, the two chiefs, alarmed at these attempts at opening their country, resisted them by force. They were defeated after a sharp engagement and their country was occupied.

But troubles soon broke out in the Chitral valley. The death of the Mehtar, Aman-ul-mulk, in 1892 was followed by a struggle for succession. One of his sons, Afzal-ul-mulk, ascended the throne, while another, named Nizam-ul-mulk, a rival candidate; took refuge with the British Agent at Gilgit. After reigning for a little over two
months Afzal-ul-mulk was surprised and killed by his uncle Sher Afzal, who had been living for many years as an exile in Badakhshan on an allowance granted by the Amir of Kabul. But as soon as Nizam-ul-mulk advanced from Gilgit, Sher Afzal fled and took refuge with the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, then at Asmar. There is hardly any doubt that Nizam-ul-mulk owed his success to the British, and soon a British mission under Robertson arrived at Chitral. Robertson made a number of concrete proposals to establish firmly the British authority in Chitral and Yasin, but Lord Lansdowne did not encourage the idea, and issued instructions towards the end of 1893 for the withdrawal of the Political Officer from Chitral, if no further complications occurred.

But shortly after this Nizam-ul-mulk was killed by a follower of his half-brother, Amir-ul-mulk, who ascended the throne (January, 1895). At the same time a Pathan chief of Jandal proclaimed Jihad or holy war against the English throughout Dir, Swat and Bajaur, and was joined by Sher Afzal, the fugitive ex-ruler of Chitral. Even the new ruler Amir-ul-mulk was suspected of sympathy and intrigue with this group. So the British Agent, Robertson, recognized Shuja-ul-mulk as the Mehtar or ruler of Chitral. Thereupon a combined force of Chitralis and Pathans besieged Robertson in fort Chitral. After a memorable siege lasting from March 4 to April 19, 1895, in course of which the defenders displayed heroic courage, Robertson was relieved by a British force from Gilgit which covered the distance of 350 miles in 35 days. The invaders raised the siege and dispersed in all directions.

The future policy towards Chitral once more brought into prominence the difference between the Forward School and its opponents, and became a subject of party politics in Britain. The Government of India decided, on May 8, 1895, to continue its hold on Chitral by retaining the garrison there, and construct a military road from Peshawar to Chitral via Swat. The Liberal Ministry of Rosebery disapproved of the decision and sent telegraphic instructions to that effect on June 13, 1895. But the Conservative Ministry of Salisbury, which soon came into power, reversed the decision of its predecessor and upheld the plan of the Government of India. So a garrison was permanently stationed at Chitral, and British troops were posted to guard the Malakand Pass and crossing of the Swat river. Allowances were granted to the tribes-people for guarding the road and telegraph line. Lord Elgin, the new Viceroy, steered a middle course between wholesale annexation of the tribal areas and abstention from any active interference save punitive measures for actual depredations.
He advocated the construction of well-fortified posts within the territories of the tribes to keep them in check. An experiment was made with Wana which guarded the Gomal, protected Zhob, and kept in check the Abdurrahman Khels, a turbulent people in South Waziristan. On November 3, 1894, the camp of the British Boundary Commission at Wana was attacked by the Mahsuds, and a regular military expedition was sent against them under Sir William Lockhart. The tribes were pacified by grant of allowance and agreed to maintain peace and guard the route. As soon as this was arranged, a part of Northern Waziristan was brought under British administration.

The British next decided to construct another fortified post in the Tochi valley in order to control Northern Waziristan and to keep in check the Mahsuds and the Darwesh Khels. The task was facilitated by the hostility between the Dawaris of the Tochi valley, a non-Pathan unwarlike people, and the Waziris. The Dawaris were easily induced to accept the British protection against their hated neighbours, and the Tochi valley was occupied without any difficulty.

But troubles were not long in coming. The Madda Khels of Maizar, a group of villages in the Upper Tochi, were dissatisfied with the fine inflicted upon them, by way of blood money, for the murder of a British subject in 1896. Mr. Gee, the Political Officer, went to Maizar with the double object of settling this matter and selecting a suitable site for a levy-post between Sheranna and Maizar which would control the entrance to the Tochi valley from the Afghan side and the direct route to Birmal and Ghazni from the British side of the Durand Line. On June 10, 1897, Mr. Gee and his party were treacherously attacked by the Madda Khels, and this was a signal for wide-spread tribal insurrection over an extensive frontier region both to the north and to the south of the Kabul river.

It is not necessary to give a detailed account of the tribal risings in 1897-98, and a reference to the principal centres must suffice. In the north the tribes in the Swat valley, led by one Sadullah, better known as the Mad Mullah, attacked Malakand and Chakdarra, and fiercely resisted the British troops before they were forced to retire. The Mohmands rose under one Najmuddin, known as the Adda Mullah, and attacked the village of Shankargarh and the neighbouring fort of Shabkadar in the Peshawar District.

The Afridis and the Orakzais, living to the south of the Safed Koh range, rose under Mullah Sayyid Akbar, an Aka Khel Afridi, captured the Khyber forts and besieged the Samana posts. Numerous military expeditions had to be sent by the Government of India to Datta Khel in the Tochi, Swat, Bajaur, Chamla, the Utman Khel
country, and Buner. A force was sent from Peshawar against the Mohmands, and the campaign in Tirah by a well-equipped force battered down the strong opposition of the Afridis and the Orakzais.

The British official point of view was simple enough. The tribal peoples were, as usual, guilty of unprovoked aggression causing serious damage to life and property, and so punitive expeditions had to be sent against them. But this was an over-simplification of the problem. The question that really mattered was, why did all the tribes—Wajirs, the Mohmands, and the peoples of Swat, Bajaur, Buner and other places—suddenly declare war against the British at the same time.

This sudden conflagration among the tribes along practically the whole border of the Punjab gave rise to a great deal of speculation about its cause and nature. The two main causes which lay on the surface were local grievances and the fanaticism of the Mullahs. The Afridis, for example, categorically stated that they were goaded to revolt by three main grievances, viz., the encroachment upon their territory by the British, increase in the salt-tax, and interference with their tribal customs. The first was an obvious truth. The second is also equally true, for the duty on salt produced in Kohat area, which had been eight annas per maund, was raised to two rupees, the usual rate on the salt produced to the east of the Sindhu. The main reason was to do away with the costly procedure of guarding against the importation of Kohat salt to the eastern side of the Sindhu. The third had probably a reference to the fact that the British Government refused to hand over to the frontier peoples their women who had fled for protection to the British territory.

There is evidence to show that the Mullahs played a large part in fomenting the troubles. As noted above, the Mullahs took a leading part in all the insurrections. Like all primitive people, the frontier tribes believed in the marvellous supernatural powers of the Mullahs, and were accustomed to pay implicit obedience to them. The following reply, given by one of the tribes to the appeal of the Commander of the British forces, may be said to represent very accurately the general sentiment of the tribes-people.

"Friendship and enmity are not in our choice; whatever orders we may receive from the Fakir Sahib of Swat, the Mulla Sahib of Hadda or the Aka Khel Mulla, and from all Islam, we cannot refuse to obey them; if we lose our lives, no matter".21

The Mullahs not only exploited the religious fanaticism of the people, but spread wild rumours, highly prejudicial to the British,
such as the capture of Aden and Suez canal by the Sultan of Turkey, rupture between the Germans and the English, and fighting against the British in Egypt. But the Mullahs could not have moved the heterogeneous mass of wild tribesmen to fight for a common cause merely by this sort of false propaganda. There seems to be little doubt that the Mullahs worked upon the inborn instincts of the tribal peoples, particularly their love of independence, and it is the strong aversion against the establishment of the British political control over them, of which the signs were abundantly clear, that made them subservient tools in the hands of the Mullahs who stood as the symbol of resistance against the hated rule of the foreigner firangi.

Indeed this was the crux of the whole tangled problem. The Forward Policy pursued since the days of Lord Lytton, and actively revived, after a short pause, by Lansdowne and Elgin, left no doubt in the minds of the tribespeople that the real intention of the British was to exercise effective control over them. The doubt, if there were any, was converted into certainty by the work of the Delimitation Commission. When the boundary pillars were erected and their fields were measured, the simple unsophisticated people naturally, and not unreasonably, concluded that their country was annexed and their independence gone.22

It would be hardly any exaggeration to say that the widespread tribal risings were a direct reaction to the policy of delimitation and demarcation by the Durand Line. This can be established by reference to a few historical facts.

The Boundary Commission knew fully well that its activities were extremely distasteful to the people. So, as a safeguard, it was accompanied by a strong military force. When it began its work in Southern Waziristan, it was protected by 3000 men and six guns. But this demarcation with the help of a military force naturally confirmed the worst suspicions of the people. So, as mentioned above, on November 3, 1894, the tribesmen suddenly attacked the camp of the Commission at Wana. They were repulsed with heavy loss, and by way of punishment, their villages were destroyed and their herds driven off. Similarly, when the Boundary Commission set to work in the northern area, in 1895, there were troubles in Chitral, as noted above.

It was urged by the British officials and historians that the Amir of Afghanistan was partly responsible for the risings of 1897. The book Takwim-ud-din "inspired by the Amir himself, and written to his command," which dealt with the Jihad (holy war), the assumption of the title of Zia-ul-Millat wa ud-Din, i.e. the Light of
Union and Faith, and reference to himself significantly in correspondence as the King of Islam, were cited as evidence for this. Ghulam Hyder Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of Amir, is also said to have "corresponded with the leading Mullahs on the border...instigated risings against us and helped the tribesmen with arms, ammunition and even men. Some think he was in touch with his master." Several other charges were also brought against the Amir, viz., that he had received deputations from the British tribal zone; his regular troops and subjects had joined the rebellious tribesmen, and he had held an assembly of Mullahs and impressed upon them the duty of all Muslims to destroy the infidels. The Amir denied these charges and allegations and it is difficult to form an impartial judgment on his conduct on the basis of British official evidence alone.23

But even assuming the allegation against the Amir to be true, it has to be admitted that the real cause of his disaffection also was the demarcation of the definite boundary between Afghanistan and India. The Amir did not like the idea, being quite satisfied with the existing state of things. Certain tribes and sections—Mohmand country, Bajaur and Asmar—, which at least nominally acknowledged the Amir as the suzerain, were placed definitely under the British influence. But there was a deeper cause of anxiety. The existence of these wild tribes as independent buffer States was a safeguard to the dominions of Amir. It was certain that the British would build roads, gradually advance, absorb, dominate, destroy independence, and assume administration of the country, and, with the barriers of warlike tribes removed, would threaten his own independence.

Attempts have been made to sidetrack the main issue by suggesting various extraneous causes for the tribal risings. Reference has been made to the general spirit of resistance against European aggression in the Islamic world, typified by the victory of Turkey over the Greeks and British discomfiture in the hands of the Arabs of Sudan. It is possible that these news, in an exaggerated form, were deliberately spread to lower the British prestige. It has been held by some that the general political unrest in India had its repercussion on the frontier tribes. But the only concrete fact in support of it is that a young boy of about thirteen years of age was presented by a Mullah to the tribes as the only surviving heir to the throne of Delhi. But while all these might show a malicious political design on the part of the leaders, it is difficult to believe that they had any material influence over the tribal peoples of the frontier.

Whatever one might think of these subsidiary causes and the influence of these secondary factors on the origin and nature of the
tribal risings of 1897-98, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that their real origin is to be found in the sturdy spirit of independence which characterized the Frontier tribesmen, and it was the imminent danger of losing freedom that induced them to make a common cause in a last desperate struggle to maintain it. It is refreshing to note that some liberal English writers have admitted this truth, however unpalatable it might be to the officials. The following lines by one of them admirably sum up this view:

"From the distant north, where the snows of Rakapushi keep watch over Hunza and Nagar, to the confines of Baluchistan, we had extended our authority in many directions over the debatable area, known as independent territory. To the border Pathan there appeared the vision of a great mailed fist, the fingers of which, in the 'nineties, seemed to be closing around him. Isolated forts garrisoned by British troops commanded the trade routes running through his territory, or frowned down upon his native hamlet or terraced fields. Dazzling white roads wound their way like serpents towards his fastnesses in the mountains. In the wake of demarcation commissions had sprung up long lines of white boundary pillars, enclosing his country and threatening that independence which was his proudest boast. It is therefore my considered opinion, after sifting all the available evidence, that the 1897 disturbances were mainly the result of the advances which had taken place in the 'nineties. Although many of these advances were justified from a military point of view, they nevertheless were looked upon as encroachments into tribal territory."24

The risings of the frontier tribes in 1897-98 were suppressed by a number of separate British detachments sent in different directions and working independently of one another. By the time Lord Curzon succeeded Elgin as Governor-General in January, 1899, there was no insurrectionary movement anywhere in the frontier territories, though there were bitter memories, particularly of the Tirah campaign, and it left a blazing trail of discontent among the Afridis whose allowances were withdrawn as a penal measure. But a number of important strategic posts in different centres were still occupied by British troops, about ten thousand in number. These isolated posts had no communication with one another, and being far away from the regularly administered British area, were in great danger of being overwhelmed by a sudden recrudescence of tribal risings. Elgin's Government decided to keep them there and build new forts in the tribal territory for their safety. But the Secretary of State, in his despatch dated January 28, 1898, sounded a note of warning against this policy which, in his opinion, would increase,
rather than diminish, the chances of collision with the tribes. He recommended a new Frontier Policy, based on the minimum of interference with the tribesmen in the neutral zone, and the maximum concentration of forces in secure areas. It was virtually a reversal of the Forward Policy and a swing back to the old ‘Stationary Policy’ in a modified form.

Lord Curzon, though an imperialist to the core, and supposed to be an ardent follower of the Forward School, had intimate personal knowledge of the Frontier, as he had travelled from the Pamirs to Chitral and thence to Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar and Quetta less than five years before he became the Viceroy. He formulated a new Frontier Policy, more or less on the lines indicated by the Secretary of State, and defined it in his Budget speech on March 27, 1901. As he himself said, it was different from both the Forward Policy of the nineties and Lawrence’s Policy of Masterly Inactivity or Back to the Indus. “Its main features,” said he, “consist in the withdrawal of our regular troops from advanced positions in tribal territory, their concentration in posts upon or near to the Indian border, and their replacement in tribal tracts by bodies of tribal levies trained up by British officers to act as a militia in defence of their own native valleys and hills; in other words, the substitution of a policy of frontier garrisons drawn from the people themselves, for the costly experiment of large forts and isolated posts thrown forward into a turbulent and fanatical country.”

This policy, enunciated so early in his career, took a definite shape during the next three years, and in his Budget speech on March 30, 1904, Lord Curzon gave a long review of the net result of the operation of his new policy from Gilgit to Baluchistan. He defended the maintenance of the British garrison at Chitral, as “absolutely essential to the scheme of frontier defence.” But the British troops had been reduced by one-third and concentrated at the extreme southern end of the country at Drosh. All the regular British troops were withdrawn from Gilgit, and the Kashmir Imperial Service troops took their place. In Dir and Swat, the movable column was withdrawn, and the British troops, reduced by one-half, were concentrated at Chakdarra, the headway of the bridge over the Swat, at Malakand and at Dargai, the outlying posts being held by local levies. Malakand was fortified, and Dargai was connected by a railway line with Nowshera, where a bridge was constructed over the Kabul river. The British garrison of 3,700 men at the Khyber Pass were withdrawn and it was left in charge of two battalions of Khyber Rifles, raised from the Afridis of the Pass and neighbouring tribes, officered by Englishmen. Kohat was connected
with the Indian railway, and by road, through the Kohat Pass, with Peshawar. The British garrison at Sama were replaced by Samana Rifles. A railway line was opened from Kohat to Thal at the mouth of the Kurram valley, and the regular British force was replaced by the Kurram Militia commanded by British officers.

In Waziristan alone Curzon met with troubles from the Mahsuds, who carried their raids into British territory. In 1901 Curzon adopted a policy of strict blockade, "vigorously and unremittingly pursued, and followed by a series of sharp and unexpected punitive counter-raids into the Mahsud valleys." The Mahsuds submitted, but the total loss suffered by them in fines, forfeiture of allowances, rifles surrendered, and the value of property destroyed and livestock captured, was calculated by Curzon to be more than five lakhs.26

In spite of all this, Curzon decided to withdraw the total British garrison of 4,000 and leave the line of the Tochi and the Gomal to the charge, respectively, of North Waziristan and South Waziristan Militia. Summing up the whole position Lord Curzon said that there were in 1904, only 5,000 British troops in place of 10,200 beyond the administration border of British India, but the supporting garrisons within this border have been increased from 22,000 to 24,000 and strengthened by new railway connections. The tribal military organization consisted of "Levies over 1,000 strong, Border Military Police over 3,000, and Border Militia, 5,800."

Lord Curzon tried to placate and conciliate the border-tribes by meeting their Chiefs and explaining the benevolent attitude of his Government to them. In a Durbar at Peshawar held on April 26, 1902, he addressed the Chiefs and representatives of the Frontier tribes. He assured them that the British Government had no wish to seize their territory or interfere with their independence. The tribesmen would be left in peace in their possessions so long as they did not raid or attack other's dominions, but if they did so, and if the tribes did not help the Government to mend matters, the British force would be sent to suppress all disorder. The second feature of the British policy was the payment of tribal allowances for keeping open the roads and passes, such as the Khyber and Kohat passes and the Chitral Road, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and for the punishment of crime. The third feature was the extended military employment of the tribesmen in the local Levies and Militia which opened a manly and well-paid career to several thousands of their young men. By good services they might be enlisted in the regular army. The railway lines, the fourth feature, were no doubt primarily intended to ensure quick movement
of troops in times of trouble, but they would provide security to
the tribal militia by pushing troops quickly to their support. These
railways would also have a good effect upon the trade so dear to
the Pathans. As these railways were within the British territory,
the tribesmen were told not to feel nervous about British encroach-
ments on their freedom, but that they would do well to remember
that the railway would not only help the British to come to their
support in need, but also to strike and avenge any wrong they might
be guilty of. 27

The Frontier policy of Curzon led him to introduce an impor-
tant administrative change by creating a new North-West Frontier
Province directly under the Government of India. He regarded it
as an integral part of his new Frontier policy, "the Keystone of
the Frontier Arch". Lord Lytton had proposed to create a new
province consisting of the six frontier districts of the Punjab and
of the trans-Indus districts of Sindh. But the Punjab Government
was strongly opposed to it. Lord Lansdowne revived the scheme,
and discussions went on till Curzon took up the question seriously.
He regarded a separate Frontier Province directly under his super-
vision as an absolute necessity in the circumstances. The Viceroy
was also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but between the frontier
system and the Viceroy there was placed the Government of the Pun-
jab, "through whose hands all frontier questions had to pass before
they reached the Government of India". This meant considerable
delay, and weeks and even months passed before the Viceroy's deci-
sion was received. This was specially objectionable as "rapidity of
action and swiftness of action were essential on an exposed frontier."
Lord Curzon regarded as 'irrational in theory and bizarre in prac-
tice', the system which "interposes between its Foreign Minister
and his most important sphere of activity, the barrier, not of a sub-
ordinate official, but of a subordinate Government," which neither
originated nor was responsible for India's foreign policy. 28

After discussing various schemes and suggestions Curzon creat-
ed in 1901 a new administrative unit out of the frontier districts
of the Punjab. This unit, the North-West Frontier Province, con-
sisted of the settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu,
and Dera Ismail Khan, as well as the frontier tracts between the
administrative boundary and the Durand Line. Excluding the small
tahsil of Isa Khel, whose inhabitants were not Pathans, all the trans-
Indus territories were included in the new Province, the head of
which was a Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General,
appointed by, and responsible to, the Governor-General.
NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER

Judged by the results, Lord Curzon's Frontier policy must be regarded as successful. In a speech at the United Service Club at Simla on September 30, 1905, he reminded his audience that "for seven years we have not had a single frontier expedition, the only seven years of which this can be said since the frontier passed into British hands; and that, whereas in the five years 1894-99 the Indian tax-payer had to find 4½ million pounds sterling for frontier warfare, the total cost of military operations on the entire North-West Frontier, in the last seven years has only been £248,000, and that was for the semi-pacific operation of the Mahsud blockade." 29 This is a record, following the events of 1897-98, of which the Viceroy could legitimately feel proud.

1. C. C. Davies, The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908, p. 22.
2. Ibid, 27.
4. Ibid, 396.
5. Ibid, 392.
9. Ibid.
9a. See p. 892.
9b. See p. 676.
10. See p. 681.
15. Ibid, 230.
16. The account of the tribes is based on Davies, op. cit., pp. 58-68.
17. Ibid, 80-1.
19. The arguments of the two opposing schools are summarized by Davies (op. cit., pp. 86-88.).
20. Ibid, 89.
27. Ibid, 423.
29. Ibid, 115.